HISTORY OF THE GERMAN PEOPLE

God.
914.3
Jan/His
31781

00031781

Digitized with financial assistance from
Shri Brihad Bhartiya Samaj
on 20 February, 2020

THE GERMAN PEOPLE

VOL. V.

Demy 8vo. 25s. per 2 Vols.

HISTORY OF THE GERMAN PEOPLE at the Close of the Middle Ages. By JOHANNES JANSSEN.

Vols. I. and II. Translated by M. A. MITCHELL and A. M. CHRISTIE.

Vols. III. and IV. Translated by A M. CHRISTIE.

LONDON:
KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRÜBNER & CO. LTD.

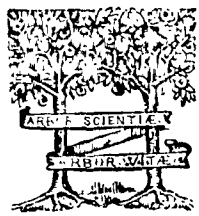
HISTORY OF THE GERMAN PEOPLE AT THE CLOSE OF THE MIDDLE AGES

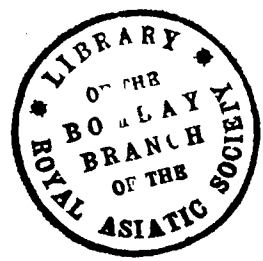
By Johannes Janssen

VOL. V.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN BY A. M. CHRISTIE

31781





TT-X-5

LONDON
KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRÜBNER & CO. LTD
PATERNOSTER HOUSE, CHARING CROSS ROAD
1903

GIOD
914.3
Jar/His
31/81

CONTENTS

OF

THE FIFTH VOLUME

BOOK I.

PROPAGATION AND SYSTEMATISING OF THE NEW DOCTRINES UP TO THE FOUNDATION OF THE SMALCALD LEAGUE, 1531

CHAPTER PAGE

I. FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND THEIR INFLUENCE ON GERMANY SINCE 1525 1

The intrigues of the German princes with France are frustrated by the defeat of Francis I. at Pavia—The Emperor's behaviour on receiving the news of the victory at Pavia—Peace of Madrid, 1526—Treachery of the French King, 1-6.

Breach between the Emperor and the Pope—The causes of the breach—The League of Cognac—How Clement VII. tried to justify himself—The Emperor's answer, 6-12.

Advance of the Turks—Francis I. in league with Turkey—Condition of affairs in Hungary—Sultan Solyman's invasion of Hungary—Battle of Mohacs and its consequences—The Voyvode Zapolya sets himself up as King of Hungary—Archduke Ferdinand of Austria elected King of Hungary—The friends of Zapolya, 12-18.

Pretenders to the crown of Bohemia—Endeavours of the Bavarian Dukes to secure the throne—Archduke Ferdinand becomes King of Bohemia, 1526—Bavaria's hostility towards Austria—Bavaria solicits help from Zapolya and from Francis I.—General political situation, 18-26.

II. ORIGIN OF TERRITORIAL CHURCHES—THE DIET OF AUGSBURG—FIRST RELIGIOUS CONFERENCES AND COVENANTS, 1525-1526 27

Retrospective glance at the development of the politico-ecclesiastical revolution—Reasons why the new gospel

CHAPTER PAGE

became serviceable to the princes—Subjection of the Church organisation to the secular powers, 27-35.

Ecclesiastical policy of the Margrave Casimir of Brandenburg-Culmbach—Casimir's religious formulary—The princes in council—Municipal assembly at Spires—Convention of Friedewald between the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse, 35-43.

The Diet at Augsburg—Articles of the Recess relating to religion (1526)—Duke George of Saxony on the religious disturbance and its consequences—Memorandum respecting the suppression of ecclesiastical principles and the secularisation of Church property—Luther hurls ridicule and abuse at the whole body of the clergy, 43-48.

Assembly of Catholic princes at Dessau—Conditions under which they are ready to ally themselves with the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse—They have no intention of making an attack on the Emperor—Petition to the Emperor for help against Lutheran aggression—'The *Rathschlag* of Mayence,' 1526—Luther describes it as the work of Satan and predicts the downfall of all the clergy and their puppets, 48-55.

Imperial messages concerning the Lutheran affair—Saxon-Hessian alliance contracted at Gotha to support the new Gospel—Efforts for extending the League—List of members who have joined it, 55-57.

III. DIET AT SPIRES, 1526 59

Imperial address to the Estates of the Empire respecting religious matters—Debate on the address—The town delegates insist on the transference of ecclesiastical business to the secular authorities—Opinion of a committee of the members—Duke George of Saxony on the Church policy of the secular princes—Memorandum respecting clerical abuses, 59-70.

The Lutheran towns want to turn the Turkish danger to their own account—Rising of the Lutheran princes and their plans for a league—Mutual embitterment of the Estates of the Empire, 70-74.

Recess of Spires—Whether the latter took proper cognisance of the National Church system—Luther on the Recess—A 'Christian memorandum' on the latter, 74-78.

CHAPTER PAGE

IV. FORMATION OF NEW TERRITORIAL CHURCHES IN PRINCIPALITIES AND URBAN DISTRICTS AND THEIR INFLUENCE ON THE PEOPLE 79

The Territorial Church in Hesse—Decisions of the Synod of Homberg, 1526—The Catholic Faith interdicted—Confiscation of Church property—Landgrave Philip, chief bishop—He is lauded as an instrument of God—His true character—Results of the new Church system, 79–86.

The Territorial Church in the Saxon Electorate since 1526—First inspectoral visitation—Luther's reiterated complaints on the condition of things—Elector John's instructions for the inspectors—All who will not conform to the new creed must leave the country—Melanchthon's instructions for the preachers—Luther wishes the Pope and his adherents to be anathematised—Luther's new order of divine service—His manner of dealing with the Mass, 86–97.

The religious and moral condition of the people as described in the inspectoral reports of 1527–1529—The aspect of things seven years later—Melanchthon and Luther complain of the growing demoralisation of the people, especially the young—'All the world wants to grow fat through plunder and robbery of Church goods,' 97–104.

Change of religion in other principalities, and the consequences thereof, 104–105.

Secularisation of the Prussian territory of the Teutonic Knights by the Grand Master Albert of Brandenburg—His predecessors and his supporters—Report of a Teutonic Knight on the proceedings—Albert reduces Prussia to a Polish fief—His religious edict—Persecution of the Catholics—Effects of the new Territorial Church system, 105–116.

The new Church system in the imperial and provincial towns—The Stralsund atrocities—The Catholic worship insulted in Braunsberg, Brunswick, and other places—Iconoclastic riots—Pulpit demagogues in Frankfort-on-the-Maine—Wilibald Pirkheimer on the fruits of the religious innovations, 116–125.

V. ZWINGLIANISM AND ITS FIRST EFFECTS IN THE EMPIRE—THE ANABAPTISTS 127

Zwingli's leading doctrines—God the origin of evil—The Sacraments mere ceremonies—Establishment of the State Church in Zürich, 1525—Iconoclasm—Plunder of churches—Squandering of church goods—Persecution of the Catholics, 126–134.

CHAPTER PAGE

Iconoclastic riots and looting of churches at Bern—The treasures of the cathedral of St. Vincent—The preacher William Farel goes about as an iconoclast—Acts of desecration, 134-138.

The 'Evangel' in Basle under the influence of the preacher Oecolampadius—Insurrection, iconoclasm, and outrage of churches in Basle and St. Gall, 1529—'The truth of the new Gospel'—The nuns of St. Catharinenthal, near Diessenhofen, 138–142.

Zwinglianism in Strasburg and in Constance, and its results as described by the preachers, 142-146.

Zwinglianism in Suabia since 1528—Luther's warnings—A sermon at Memmingen on the condition of things, 146–149.

Theological sects and separatists—Teaching of the Anabaptists—Their attacks on the new preachers—Propagandism and persecution since 1526 in Switzerland, South Germany, and the Tyrol—The Augsburg 'New Christians'—Hopes placed by the sectarian leaders on the Turks—The prophet Augustin Bader as future King of the New Israel—The Anabaptists in Hesse and Saxony—General lack of concord in religion, 149–165.

VI. Breach of the Public Peace and Threats of a Religious War by the Landgrave Philip of Hesse, 1528 . . 166

Efforts of the Landgrave for the reinstatement of Ulrich of Würtemberg—Hopes placed on France—Preparations for war, 1527—A fictitious alliance against the new gospel, 166–171.

Treaty of war between Saxony and Hesse, 1528—France ready to promote the coronation of the Landgrave as Roman King—The Landgrave's plan of war—His bargaining with Francis I.—A rising of the common people hoped for and feared—Philip's alliance with the Turkish vassal Zapolya—Nickel von Minckwitz—Allies of Philip—Situation of Saxony, 171–179.

Philip proclaims a war of religion—Zwingli insists imperatively on the massacre of the bishops—Utterances of Catholic princes—Philip levies contributions on the Bishops of Bamberg and Würzburg and the Archbishop of Mayence—Invasion and looting of the episcopal residence of Fürstenwald by Nickel von Minckwitz—Luther's invective against the Catholic Duke George of Saxony, 179–186.

Imperial summons to a Diet at Spires, 186–187.

CHAPTER PAGE

VII. War and Reconciliation between Pope and Emperor—Diet at Spires, 1529—Zwinglianism gains Ground . 188

The Emperor makes fruitless offers of peace to Pope Clement and Francis I.—Position of the Pope—The sacking of Rome, 1527—How Eobanus Hessus and Melanchthon expressed themselves on the subject, 188-192.

Imperial statement respecting the Pope's imprisonment, 192-194.

Fresh fruitless offers of peace from the Emperor to France and England—Defeat of the French in Naples and Genoa, 1528—The Pope and Emperor reconciled, 194-197.

Imperial proposal at the Spires Diet of 1529 respecting the affairs of the Church—The Pope now willing to summon a Council—Transactions respecting the imperial proposal—The Catholic Estates demand of the Lutherans toleration for their coreligonists—Speech of the Papal Legate, 197-203.

Bitterness among the imperial Estates—Intrigues of the King of France—Alliances between the Protestant members—Hopes placed on a revolutionary rising of the people—Hopes placed on Switzerland—Zürich advocates preparation for war, 203-209.

The Protestant Estates at the Diet at Spires refuse the request for toleration of the Catholics in their territories and hand in a protest—Threatened invasion of the Turks—Transactions respecting the above-mentioned protest—League of the Protestants, 209-218.

Melanchthon's complaints of the proceedings at Spires—Luther opposes an alliance with the Zwinglians, 160-161.

Danger of a religious war in Switzerland—The Peace of Cappel, 1529—Zwingli's political schemes respecting the Suabian towns, 221-227.

The religious conference at Marburg and its political import—Philip of Hesse and Zwingli play into each other's hands, 228-233.

VIII. The Turks before Vienna and the 'Christian Turks'—Intrigues of the Zwinglians against Charles V. and the Empire, 1529-1530 234

Advance of the Sultan Solyman, 1529—The Emperor makes peace with the Pope and with France—Francis I. in secret alliance with the Turks—Solyman's fruitless

CHAPTER PAGE

siege of Vienna—The Turks in Hungary—Peace between the Emperor and Venice, 1529—The Emperor's coronation at Bologna—Negotiations of the Emperor with the Protestants—Summons a Diet at Augsburg, 234–240.

Philip of Hesse's military plans—Luther's memorandum, 240–242.

Zürich seeks to ally itself with Venice against the Emperor—Zwingli and Philip place their hopes on France—Philip engages to raise large forces against the Emperor—His hopes of the Turks—Alliance of Strasburg with the confederates—An alliance in favour of Ulrich of Würtemberg—Melanchthon against Philip; the Zwinglian preachers on Philip's side, 242–247.

IX. The Diet at Augsburg and the Emperor's Attempts at Pacification, 1530—Ferdinand elected King of the Romans, 1531 248

Entry of the Emperor—Behaviour of the Protestant Princes, 248–251.

Imperial proposal to the Estates—Speech of the Papal Legate Campeggio, 251.

Origin of the Augsburg Confession—Its contents—Melanchthon's inconsistency, 251–255.

The Emperor's proposals with regard to religious questions—The Catholic confutation, 255–259.

Philip of Hesse's flight from Augsburg—Fear of an insurrection—The Emperor's sister in favour of the Protestants, 259–262.

Negotiations for a religious compromise—Why these were bound to fail—Luther on these negotiations—Luther on the question of episcopal jurisdiction—The Protestant theologians aim at ensnaring the bishops—Melanchthon's remarks, 262–267.

The Protestant princes and towns reject all episcopal jurisdiction—Their complaints of Melanchthon—Luther on the bishops—Breach between the Lutherans and the Zwinglians, 267–272.

The Saxon theologians on the demoralisation of the people—Complaints of the ecclesiastical princes respecting the violent procedure of the Protestant authorities against the Catholics—Well-grounded complaints against the bishops, 272–276.

Transactions respecting the marriage of priests—The lay chalice—Church property—All attempts at reconciliation fruitless, 276–283.

The Emperor demands toleration of the Catholic religion

CHAPTER PAGE

in the territories of the Protestants—Reasons why they refuse—Want of attachment among the people of Saxony for Luther and the new doctrines—How Luther attempted to justify the intolerance shown to the Catholics—Bucer clamours for the total destruction of the Catholics, 283–291.

Further fruitless peace overtures from the Emperor—A recess drawn up—The Protestants refuse to accept it—Luther's statement of opinion—Luther predicts the downfall of Germany, 283–299.

Negotiations with the Protestants—Behaviour of the Catholic members—Bavarian intrigues—Reasons why the Emperor cannot hope for any help from the bishops—Discord and terror among the Catholic members—Speech of the Elector Joachim of Brandenburg—Defensive alliance of the Emperor with the Catholic Estates, 299–313.

The Augsburg recess—Question of a Council, 313–321.

Ferdinand elected and crowned King of the Romans—His alliance with the Electors—Deliberations at the imperial State Council respecting the proceedings against the Protestants, 321–325.

BOOK II.

I. PLAN OF WAR AGAINST THE EMPEROR—THE LEAGUE OF SMALCALD—THE ZWINGLIAN RELIGIOUS DISTURBANCE IN SUABIA—FRESH OVERTURES OF PEACE FROM THE EMPEROR. 326

Alliance between Philip of Hesse and Henry of Brunswick for the forcible restoration of Ulrich of Würtemberg—Philip's understanding with the Zwinglians—Zwingli aims at the overthrow of the Empire—Declaration of Zürich respecting the necessity of such an overthrow, 326–329.

Luther under the influence of Philip of Hesse—His anathemas against the Catholics, 329–332

Formation of the League of Smalcald, 1531—Zwingli opposed to the princes, 332–335.

Synod of the Zwinglians at Memmingen and their decisions, 1531—Zwinglian iconoclasm in Suabia, especially at Ulm—Persecution of the Catholics in the Suabian towns—Effects of the new Church system on the people, 335–345.

The Smalcald confederates enter into alliance with France and England—Philip of Hesse's military plans—New

CHAPTER PAGE

fruitless overtures of peace from the Emperor—Philip of Hesse wishes for military assistance from France, 345–354.

II. Overthrow of Zwinglianism in Switzerland, 1531. . 355

Plans for uprooting the Catholic faith throughout Switzerland—Zwingli's secret memorandum—Battle of Cappel, 1531—Zwingli's death—Luther on Zwingli—King Ferdinand's hopes in consequence of the victory of the Catholics—Pope Clement VII. advocates peace with the Zwinglians—The Zwinglians condemn their preachers as fomenters of the war—Demoralisation of the people in consequence of the religious innovations, 355–364—Luther's view of the moderation of the Catholics towards the Zwinglians, 364. The overthrow of Zwinglianism serves to strengthen the League of Smalcald, 364–365.

III. Alliances of German Princes with Foreign Countries—Irruption of the Turks, 1532 366

The King—The Voyvode Zapolya in Hungary a slave of the Sultan—Solyman's preparations for marching against Germany—The Smalcald confederates refuse Turkish aid—Manœuvres of Bavaria against King Ferdinand—Bavaria hopes for Turkish support against Ferdinand, 366–370.

The Bavarian Chancellor, Eck, visits Philip of Hesse—Agreement at Saalfeld between Bavaria and the Smalcald confederates—The confederates solicit help against the Emperor from France and England—Duke Louis of Bavaria admonishes the Bohemians to contribute no help against the Turks—Intrigues of the French King to stir up a war in Germany, 370–375.

Treaty of alliance at Scheyern (1532) between France, Saxony, Hesse, and Bavaria, 375.

Francis I. on the German princes, 376.

Turkish invasion in Hungary and Austria, 377–378.

IV. Diet at Ratisbon—The Religious Peace of Nuremberg—Turkish Campaign, 1532 379

The Emperor's proposals at Ratisbon with regard to Turkish subsidies—Consent of all the Estates, except the Elector of Saxony and his followers, 379–382.

Negotiations for a temporary religious peace—Its settlement at Nuremberg, 382–386.

The Catholic members at Ratisbon oppose the Emperor—The Emperor's attitude in regard to the business of the Council, 386–389.

CHAPTER PAGE

An Hungarian expedition against the Turks is void of results—Distress of King Ferdinand—The papal Nuncio, Alexander, on the situation of the Empire—Complaints against the shameful policy of the Bavarian Chancellor, Eck, 390-395.

V. Plan of Bavaria and her Allies for the Expulsion of King Ferdinand—The Suabian League dissolved—Conquest and Protestantisation of Würtemberg, 1532-1534 396

Chancellor Eck incenses the Landgrave of Hesse against the Emperor—Bavaria and Hesse in alliance with France hinder peace in Hungary, 1533—Bavaria wants pecuniary help from Turkey against King Ferdinand, 396-403.

Weakening of imperial power and of the House of Habsburg through the dissolution of the Suabian League, 403-405.

Alliance of Philip of Hesse with France against King Ferdinand on behalf of Würtemberg in 1534—Bavaria again incites to war—Chancellor Eck bribed with French money, 405-411.

Evangelical expedition to Würtemberg, 1534—Ferdinand's position—His helplessness—Easy conquest of Würtemberg—Eobanus celebrates Philip of Hesse in a song of triumph, 411-417.

Treaty at Cadan by which Ferdinand cedes Würtemberg to Duke Ulrich—Terms of the treaty—Meanings of the religious article included in it, 417-420.

Ulrich's mode of protestantising the land after 1534—Treatment of the monasteries—Robbery of church goods—Utterances concerning the Duke—Effects of Protestantism, 421-428.

VI. German-French Combatants—Frenchmen and Turks against Emperor and Empire, 1534-1537 . . . 429

Francis I., Solyman, and the Dukes of Bavaria dissatisfied with the treaty of Cadan—Bavarian honesty towards the House of Hapsburg at and after the treaty of Linz, 1534—Bavaria's assurances to the French King—Bavarian and French machinations with Zapolya against Ferdinand, 429-435.

French attempts at conspiracy in Germany—Francis I. sketches a plan of war for the Sultan against the Emperor—Allies himself with the Corsair chieftain Chaireddin, 435-438.

CHAPTER PAGE

Fruitless attempts of the Emperor at pacification—Insolence of the French King, 438-440.

The Emperor's march against Tunis, 1535—Rupture of peace by the French, 1536—The Emperor's speech at Rome against Francis I., 440–444.

Disastrous campaign of the Emperor in France, 1536—Conquests of the allied Turks, French, and German-French—Judgment of a contemporary on the political and religious disturbances in the Empire, 444–448.

VII. Reign of the Anabaptists at Münster—The Gospel at Lübeck, 1534 449

Strasburg becomes the centre of Anabaptist activity—Schwenckfeld and the prophet Melchior at Strasburg—The sect of the Melchiorites and their prophesyings, 449-452.

Spread of Protestantism in Westphalia—Episcopal 'Judases'—Iconoclastic riots in Münster under Bernt Rothmann—Persecution of the Catholics—Victory of the radical Church party at Münster—Religious disturbances in other Westphalian towns, 452–458.

The first apostle of the Anabaptists at Münster, 1534—Jan Mathys and Jan van Leiden—Summons to a general rising—Plunder and sacrilege of churches—The Anabaptist rule of terror—Community of goods and polygamy, 458–465.

Jan van Leiden as King of the whole universe—His court—Royal deeds, 365–466.

Correspondence between Philip of Hesse and the Anabaptists at Münster—The Book of the Restitution, 466-470.

Spread of the Anabaptists in Westphalia, on the Rhine, and in the Netherlands—Naked proclaimers of truth in Amsterdam—Fear of a general popular rising against the propertied classes, 470–472.

The Gospel in the Hanseatic towns, especially in Lübeck—Lübeck under Jürgen Wullenweber—Plan of a Lübeck triumvirate for a social uprooting of the whole north—Lübeck at war with Denmark and Holstein—Wullenweber is ready to ally himself with the Anabaptists at Münster, 472–477.

A number of apostles sent out from Münster—Rothmann's book *Von der Rache* ('On Vengeance'), 477–479.

Risings of the Anabaptists in the Netherlands, 1535—Unsuccessful attack on Amsterdam, 479–481.

Religious convention at Hamburg against the Anabaptists, 481.

CHAPTER PAGE

Overthrow of the Kingdom of Zion at Münster—Its consequences, 481-484.

Defeat of Lübeck by the King of Denmark—Collapse of the rule of the Hanseatic League and simultaneous loss of German maritime power—The confederate princes of Smalcald lend help to foreign countries, 484-485.

VIII. Strengthening of the League of Smalcald—Assembly of the League in 1537—Expulsion of the Bishop of Augsburg and Protestantisation of the Town . 486

How the conquest of Würtemberg affected the politico-religious revolution—Significance of the growing power of the League of Smalcald—Violation of the religious peace of Würtemberg—Whether King Ferdinand will allow the League to receive new members—Oppression of the Catholics, 486-491.

Assembly of Smalcald confederates at Frankfort-on-the-Maine—Treatment of the Catholics in Frankfort—The town council ruled by pulpit demagogues—Iconoclastic riots, 491-493.

Great evangelical assembly of the League at Smalcald, 1537—Number of those present—How the members of the League justify the oppression of the Catholics in the face of the Emperor's delegate—Melanchthon, Bucer, and other theologians lay down as a dogma of the new faith that the Catholic secular and regular clergy must be robbed of all their goods—The Smalcaldians will not tolerate the Catholic Church service for fear of everlasting condemnation, 493-501.

How the Gospel is introduced into Augsburg, 1537—The preacher Bucer primes the town council—Plunder of churches and iconoclasm, 501-506.

The bishop and chapter of Augsburg justify the proceedings—The Smalcaldians side with the Augsburg town council—Treatment of the nuns at Einbeck, 509.

The Smalcaldians reject all the Emperor's proposals and make ready for war, 509-511.

IX. The League of Smalcald rejects the Council—Question of an Opposition Council—The Wittenberg 'Concord' 512

The question of a Council after 1533—A papal nuncio at the Saxon court—Overtures of Clement VII.—Opinion of the Protestant theologians—Why the summoning of the Council was delayed—Clement VII. to the Emperor—His death, 512-516.

CHAPTER PAGE

Paul III. bestirs himself on behalf of a Council—His legate at Munich—Intrigues of the French King against the Council, 1535—His offers to the Protestants—Immorality at the French court, 516–523.

Luther's interview with the papal legate at Wittenberg—He declares that the papal Church is the school of Satan, 523–526.

Papal summons to a Council, 1536—The papal legate at the assembly of the League of Smalcald, 1537—How he was treated—A moment of decisive importance—Melanchthon's attitude—Under no conditions will the Smalcaldians consent to a Council, 526–530.

Plan for a Protestant counter-council—The Smalcaldian Articles—How the Saxon Elector's idea of a free Council was to be carried out—Why Luther could not summon an opposition Council—Owing to the dissensions among the preachers it was quite impossible for any such Council to be called—Melanchthon on the state of things among the Protestants, 530–535.

Attempt to unite the Lutherans and the Zwinglians—The philosophy of dissimulation—Bucer and other Zwinglian preachers with Luther at Wittenberg—Luther's victory—The 'Concord' formulary, 1536—The attitude of the South German towns towards the 'Concord'—Negotiations on the subject with Switzerland—How Luther yields to the Swiss—Each party at liberty to interpret the 'Concord' according to its own liking—To please the Swiss, Melanchthon alters an article of the Augsburg Confession—The civil authorities contrive the abolition of the ceremony of Elevation in the Lutheran churches, 535–544.

INDEX OF PLACES 557

INDEX OF PERSONS 565

Errata

Page 13, line 2, *for* Carinthia, *read* Carniola
„ 22, „ 10, „ Krain, *read* Carniola
„ 398, „ 3, „ Siebenbürgen, *read* Transylvania
„ 405, „ 1, „ Brey, *read* Isny
„ 445, „ 7, „ Moravia, *read* Moldavia
„ 480, „ 4, „ Juliers, *read* Jülich
„ 484, „ 16, „ Oxnebirg, *read* Ornebirg

HISTORY

OF

THE GERMAN PEOPLE

SINCE THE CLOSE OF THE MIDDLE AGES

BOOK I

SPREAD AND GROWTH OF THE NEW DOCTRINES UNTIL THE FORMATION OF THE SMALCALD LEAGUE

CHAPTER I

FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND THEIR INFLUENCE ON GERMANY SINCE 1525

WHILST in Germany the social revolution was threatening to overthrow the Roman Empire of the German nation, and all existing political and social order, in Italy the victory of the imperial army at Pavia on February 24, 1525, had re-established the dominion of the Empire.

'It was a fierce contest at Pavia,' says Reissner, secretary of George von Frundsberg; 'on both sides there were veteran warriors who were fighting not only for honour and glory but for dominion in Italy.' The French army was annihilated, and King Francis I. was

taken prisoner. Affairs in France seemed tending to complete dissolution.[1]

For Germany also the victory of Pavia was of great importance.

At the commencement of the year 1525 the expatriated Duke Ulrich of Würtemberg, an obsequious servant and mercenary of the French King, had, with the help of the latter, raised an army of from 50,000 to 60,000 Bohemians, for the purpose of invading the territory of Charles V.'s brother, Archduke Ferdinand of Austria. Ulrich had himself made an independent incursion into Würtemberg, and had obtained subsidies from Francis I. in order to fight simultaneously with him against their common foe, the Emperor, and to place himself at the head of the insurgent peasants.[2] But the defeat of the French at Pavia had brought the Duke's schemes to a disastrous end.

Three other German princes besides Ulrich had been engaged in intrigues with the King of France. Letters of a suspicious character from the Electors of Brandenburg, of the Palatinate, and of Treves were found in the camp of Francis I. at Pavia, showing that all these three men had been implicated in a plot for the election of a new Roman King[3] under French auspices. These intrigues also had come to nothing.

It was also of great advantage to Germany that, after the victory of Pavia, George von Frundsberg was

[1] See the reports in F. B. von Bucholtz's *Geschichte der Regierung Ferdinand des Ersten*, ii. 317–318.

[2] See our statements, vol. ii. p. 500 ff. (*Engl. Translation*, iv. 222).

[3] See vol. ii. pp. 846 ff., J. G. Droysen's *Geschichte der preussischen Politik*, ii. 119, 129. Archduke Ferdinand to the Emperor, March 14 and April 12, 1525, in Lanz, *Correspondenz*, i. 154, 635. A similar document of April 2 quoted by Baumgarten, *Gesch. Karl's V.* ii. 548.

able to make over several thousand experienced Landsknechts to the Truchsess George, to help in the suppression of the insurgent Suabian peasants.

On October 1, 1525, the Emperor summoned the Estates to a Diet, which was to meet at Augsburg with a view to the restoration of peace and order; the suppression of the mischievous religious innovations, which had led to so much insurrection and bloodshed; and the defence of the Empire against the threatened danger from the Turks.

Charles's intention was to go to Italy as soon as possible, in order to receive the imperial crown and to try to induce the Pope to summon a general council for the purpose of re-establishing religious unity and carrying out the urgently needed reforms in ecclesiastical matters. Afterwards he meant to bestir himself personally in Germany, in conjunction with the Estates, in order to restore peace and tranquillity to the unhappy Empire, which had been rent in pieces by the social revolution and the countless heresies that were everlastingly springing up. He would exert himself with the utmost diligence, he wrote to the Estates, to promote the convocation of a general council and all the necessary reforms; but pending such a council he desired that no further innovations in matters of religion should be attempted; he strictly forbade every movement in this direction before the meeting of the Diet at Augsburg.[1]

The next question for consideration was the conclusion of peace with Francis I.

Profiting by the distracted condition of France,

[1] Printed despatch, dated Toledo 24 May, 1525. See Baumgartner, ii. 404.

Henry VIII. of England, the Emperor's ally, was aiming at the complete annihilation of French independence. He proposed that the Emperor should invade France from Spain; he himself would land there simultaneously, have the French crown placed on his head at Paris, and restore to Charles all the territory belonging to the Empire and to the House of Burgundy. If then the Emperor would consent to marry his (Henry's) daughter Mary, the kingdoms of France and England would fall eventually to him.[1]

But Charles had been in no wise over-elated by his martial success. When, deeply anxious still as to the issue of the Italian campaign, he suddenly received at Madrid the news that on February 24 (his birthday) his army had won a decisive battle at Pavia, and that Francis I. was his prisoner, he turned as pale as death and for a few moments did not utter a syllable. Then he repeated slowly the words of the messenger, went into his bedroom, and fell on his knees in prayer. The liberation of Europe from the Turkish yoke was the one thought that possessed his troubled soul. 'I will, as far as is in my power,' he said in German to the Polish envoy, 'use all diligence in order that general peace may be established throughout Christendom, and that I may be able to assist the King of Poland, my brother Ferdinand, and others against the infidels. He allowed no firing of guns to celebrate the victory, but only thanksgiving processions through the streets of Madrid, and prayers for the blessing of God on the war against the Turks. 'The calmness and moderation of the Emperor on the occasion of so great a victory over the

[1] Henry's instructions to his ambassador, Fiddes's *Life of Wolsey*, pp. 346-352.

King of France,' wrote the Venetian ambassador Contarini, 'amounted almost to the miraculous.'[1]

Charles had no desire to profit by the captivity of his long-standing adversary for completely crushing his power; he only wanted so far to cripple him that in future he would no longer be able to endanger the universal tranquillity of Europe in his character of 'disturber of the peace of Christendom.' 'I want neither gold nor provinces from you,' he said to the French agent; 'I have enough of both; but I demand of you the restoration of the rights of the Empire and help and support in repelling the hereditary enemy of Christendom.'[2] 'You know,' wrote the Emperor to his aunt Margaret, Governess of the Netherlands, 'that I have at all times wished for peace, and that I covet nothing that belongs to others. It will be much more honourable to recover our rightful possessions, as far as possible by gentle and amicable means, than to take advantage of the King's being my prisoner for resorting to greater force and severity. For this reason I have resolved to begin with peace negotiations and to abstain from seeking the ruin of the French King.'[3]

The Emperor only demanded the restoration of what belonged to him by right, the duchy of Burgundy, 'his ancient heritage, the title and arms of which he bore,' and which had been unlawfully seized

[1] Alberi, *Relazioni*, Ser. 1, tom. 2, 61. Dittrich, *Regesten Contarini's*, 21–22, &c.

[2] See Flassan's *Histoire de la Diplomatie Française*, i. 325, where Flassan makes the following impartial statement: 'Charles V. acted more generously than is usually supposed; for he did not attempt the slightest attack on France, although the country was completely distracted by the loss of its sovereign. He even consented to the amnesty of Breda on July 14.'

[3] Bucholtz, ii. 28, 284, 314.

by France; and the duchy of Milan, an ancient fief of the Empire.

On January 14, 1526, the Treaty of Madrid was concluded. Francis I. gave up the duchy of Burgundy—that is to say, the territory which Louis XI. had taken from the daughter of Charles the Bold (grandmother of the Emperor), while still in her minority; he renounced his Italian claims and the suzerainty of Artois and Flanders; he promised emphatically to give no support in future to the Emperor's enemies, the Duke of Gelderland, Ulrich von Würtemberg, and Robert de la Marck; and, finally, in order to put an end to all disagreement, he betrothed himself to Eleanor, the sister of the Emperor and the widowed Queen of Portugal. The Emperor and the King undertook to use their joint influence to persuade the Pope to summon an assembly of all the Christian Powers, in order to confer concerning the general peace of Christendom and a crusade against the Turks. The two eldest sons of the King, the Dauphin and Prince Henry (who became later Henry II.), were given as hostages for the execution of this treaty, and the King pledged himself in case of the non-fulfilment of these conditions to return as a prisoner to Madrid.

'I told the King at Madrid,' said the Emperor later on to a French envoy, 'that I should consider him a dastardly and unprincipled man if he failed in his promises to me.'[1]

But Francis I. was all along intending treachery.

When the Emperor, who during the last days of his captivity had associated with Francis as intimately as

[1] Ch. Weiss, *Papiers d'Etat du Cardinal de Granvelle d'après les Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de Besançon*, i. 350. Baumgarten, ii. 485, says pointedly: 'That Francis would break the treaty sealed by him with so many oaths and words of honour, was evident to all.'

with a brother, asked him on parting, 'Are you in truth willing to observe the articles of the treaty?' Francis had answered, 'I will fulfil every single condition, and I know that no one in my kingdom will hinder me. If you experience anything else at my hands, look upon me as a base and wicked man.' No sooner, however, was he set at liberty than he broke his word and allied himself with the enemies of the Emperor.

Henry VIII. meanwhile, having failed in securing the co-operation of Charles in his scheme for crushing the independence of France, had addressed himself to the French, and by August 30, 1525, a treaty of peace and alliance had been concluded between France and England on a basis recognised by Clement VII. For between the Pope and the Emperor a serious breach had occurred.

After the battle of Pavia great fear had prevailed in Rome as to the intentions of the imperial generals, who, under a variety of pretexts, were occupying the ecclesiastical province of Piacenza with large numbers of troops.[1] The Pope, however, entertained no thoughts of a hostile movement against the Emperor, but, on the contrary, was only too glad to seize the opportunity of coming to an understanding with the imperial forces.[2] He also endeavoured to incline the King of England and his minister, Wolsey, to peace, 'in order to restore in Italy and in the rest of Christendom, the long-wished-for tranquillity.'[3] With the same object he addressed letters to

[1] See Fr. Guicciardini's *Della Istoria d' Italia*, book xv. ch. 1.

[2] '. . . come il papa fu certificato poter fuggire i pericoli presenti, lasciati gli altri pensieri, si voltò con tutto l' animo alla concordia' (Guicciardini, *loc. cit.*)

[3] Letters of Giberti to the Nuncios in England, March 1 and 6, 1525,

the Emperor, the Archduke Ferdinand, the Chancellor Gattinara, and others,[1] and he considered it a matter of rejoicing when on April 1, 1525, the transactions with the plenipotentiary of Lannoy, the viceroy of Naples, led to an amicable agreement with the Emperor.[2] The announcement was made solemnly in Rome on May 1. It was a day of thanksgiving and joy in the town, and the Pope himself led the 'Te Deum.'[3]

Lannoy, however, in return for a large sum of money, forthwith proceeded to make promises to Duke Alphonso of Ferrara which were in glaring contradiction to the treaty just concluded, and the Emperor, on his part, ratified only those provisions in it which were favourable to himself, and not those which guaranteed the Pope help against rebellious feudatories and other advantages.[4] The complications in the duchy of Milan led to a complete breach between the Emperor and the Pope.

The Milanese chancellor Morone, in conjunction with Duke Francis Sforza, and under the sanction of the Pope, had formed a conspiracy for driving the imperial troops out of Italy, with the assistance of the imperial

in *Lettere di Principi* (Venice, 1575), ii. 74, 81. See the briefs in Balan, i. 98, 99.

[1] Balan, i. 106 *sq.* The report of the Stattholderess Margaret of April 1525, that the Pope was negotiating a league between England and France against the Emperor (Bucholtz, ii. 305), rests on erroneous information.

[2] Guicciardini, *loc. cit.*; Balan, i. 117, 119. The text of the agreement (without the money stipulations, according to which the Pope paid 100,000 ducats to the famished imperial army in Milan) is in *Cod. Vatic.* 3924, fol. 207. Contributed by Dr. Stephan Ehses.

[3] Blasius de Cesena, *Diarium*, Bibl. Barberini, xxxv. 43, fol. 116. Contributed by Dr. Ehses.

[4] Guicciardini, book xv. ch. 2, 8; Clement VII. to the Emperor, June 15, 1525; Balan, i. 154–155. See the instructions for Cardinal Farnese, Weiss, i. 292.

General Pescara. Morone's plot was discovered, and prosecution for high treason was instituted against Sforza. Pending the decision of the case the Emperor, in spite of all intercession from the Pope, refused to reinstate Sforza in the duchy of Milan, and declared that in the event of his being proved guilty his territory would be made over as a fief to the French constable, Duke Charles of Bourbon, who had entered the service of the Emperor.[1]

As, however, Bourbon was entirely dependent on the Emperor, it seemed in the opinion of the Pope a matter of perfect indifference whether Milan were governed indirectly by the former under the Empire, or by the Emperor himself; in either case the bondage of Italy to the north must be the result. Clement VII., according to a later Papal despatch, 'gave credence to the old assertion that it was the intention of the Emperor to subjugate Italy utterly and entirely.' Hence he (the Pope) resolved to ally himself with those who had interests in common with him, in order to protect himself from the danger that threatened him.[2]

On May 22, 1526, the Pope entered into a league at Cognac with Francis I., with Venice and Florence, and with Duke Sforza, which the King of England also promised to support by all means in his power. By this confederacy the Emperor was to be required to liberate the French princes for a stipulated ransom,

[1] Concerning Bourbon see our statements at vol. ii. p. 335 ff. (*Engl. Transl.* iv. 10, 11). The Emperor had promised him his sister, Eleanor, in marriage, and wanted to compensate him for the renunciation of this marriage by the gift of the duchy of Milan. On February 11, 1326, he drew up the form of investiture for Bourbon, in case of Sforza's being convicted of felony. See the important document in *Miscellanea di Storia Italiana*, iii. 546–557.

[2] See Ranke, ii. 330.

to restore the Italian States to the same condition in which they had been before the commencement of hostilities, and to submit to the decision of the Pope and Venice concerning the number of troops to be used on his coronation march. Should Charles refuse to agree to these terms, war would at once be opened by a powerful army, and Naples would be wrested from the Emperor and made over to the Pope as a fief of the Church.[1]

'In this war,' said Giberti, the Pope's trusted minister, writing under the spell of the French King's glamour, 'it is not a question of wounded honour, or of the preservation of this or that city, but of the deliverance or the eternal slavery of Italy.'[2]

As soon as the Emperor realised that Francis I. had no intention of observing the Treaty of Madrid, he sent his ambassador Ugo de Moncada to Rome with instructions to agree to all the Pope's demands.[3] But the League of Cognac had already been signed, and the Pope refused to withdraw from his alliance with France. 'God, who was incensed against us on

[1] See note in Appendix.

[2] '. . . in essa si tratta o della salute o della perpetua servitù di tutta Italia'.(letter of June 10, 1526, in *Lettere di Principi*, i. 193). Guicciardini urged the Pope on eagerly to war: 'Una guerra desiderata estremamente da tutta Italia, come giudicata necessaria alla salute universale' ('Discorsi Politici,' *Opp. Ined.* i. 393). F. Gregorovius, *Geschichte der Stadt Rom im Mittelalter vom 5. bis 16. Jahrhundert*, viii. 459; A. v. Reumont's *Geschichte der Stadt Rom*, iii. part ii. 172. If the Emperor becomes sovereign of Italy, wrote Robert Acciajuoli, Florentine ambassador in France, he will be the ruler of the world: 'Veh! misere Italie et nobis viventibus' (A. Desjardins, *Négociations Diplomatiques de la France avec la Toscane*, ii. 861).

[3] Raynald *ad a.* 1526, No. 9; Weiss, i. 295. The instructions for Moncada in *Misc. di Storia Ital.* iii. 553–564. Moncada arrived in Rome on June 17, 1526.

account of our sins,' says Antonius Florebellus, the biographer of Cardinal Sadolet, 'did not move the heart of Clement VII. to embrace such an honourable opportunity for the establishment of harmony.'[1]

In order to justify his conduct, Clement VII. on June 23 addressed to the Emperor a letter in which he accused him of oppressing Italy, of doing iniquitous violence to the Holy See, and of boundless avarice and greed of conquest: 'for the protection of the freedom of the Fatherland,' he said, 'and in his own self-defence in a righteous cause, he found himself compelled to take up arms against Charles.' 'It is for your Holiness to consider,' said the Emperor in his answer, 'whether the occasion justifies you in drawing the sword, which, as a rule, should scarcely be lifted by the chief shepherd even against an enemy of the faith; whether the course you are pursuing is in accordance with justice and right, and whether the liberty of Italy and the Church of Italy will indeed be benefited by it, or whether rather the honour and repute of the supreme shepherd of Christendom will not suffer serious detriment if the protector and defender of the Apostolic Chair himself be dealt with so unrighteously. The whole of Christendom will be thrown into confusion by this measure, and a fire will be kindled which it will not be so easy to extinguish. And while the strength of Christendom is in this wise shattered, treacherous enemies will drive the Christian flock step by step into false paths; new errors will spring up day by day; the doctrines of the heretics will take firmer and firmer root, and grievous, irremediable damage will accrue to the Christian

[1] Raynald *ad a.* 1526, No. 10.

religion.' His aims and efforts, Charles declared, had not been directed towards his own profit, but solely and entirely against the common hereditary foe, the Turk.[1]

While the struggle between the two heads of Christendom was raging in Italy the Turks continued incessantly active.

Already in the first years of the politico-religious revolution which had broken out in Germany the two bulwarks of Southern Christendom, Belgrade and Rhodes, had fallen into the hands of Solyman the Magnificent. On Christmas Day 1522 the janissaries had desecrated and mutilated the altars, pictures, and monuments in the church of St. John at Rhodes; they had even spit upon the crucifixes and dragged them in the mud, and had proclaimed Mohammed as the Prophet of God from the top of the church tower. The frontier fortresses of Croatia had also been seized at that time, and Solyman had long been cherishing the plan of establishing his dominion in the territory of the Danube by means of extensive operations against Hungary.

He had found friends and allies for the furtherance of this scheme among the 'Christian Turks' of Europe.

The King of France, moreover, regardless of the common welfare of Christendom, had sought at all times to make use of the Turkish danger for the gratification of his own greed of conquest.[2] Shortly before

[1] Despatches of the Pope and the Emperor in Raynald *ad a.* 1526, Nos. 6, 11, 22–50; Le Plat's *Monumentorum ad Historiam Concilii Tridentini spectantium amplissima Collectio*, ii. 240–289; Schulte-Rohrbacher's *Universalgeschichte der katholischen Kirche*, pp. 206–210; Baumgarten, ii. 517–520.

[2] The significance of his alliances with the Sultan can only be rightly

the battle of Pavia he had incited an Hungarian magnate, Count Frangipani, to invade Carinthia and Styria with the help of the Turks, and to make war on Ferdinand of Austria.[1] Immediately after his defeat his mother, Louisa of Savoy, had applied to Solyman for help,[2] and Francis himself, through the medium of Frangipani, had implored the Sultan, 'the great sovereign of the world, the ruler of the century,' to drive back that 'haughty sovereign' the Emperor, promising in return to be henceforth and for ever a grateful servant of the Sultan.[3]

Moved by these entreaties, Solyman had concluded an alliance with Francis I. and with Venice, and had fitted out a great fleet to send to Spain.

The Grand Vizier Ibraim was to march with an army through Ferdinand's territory towards Friuli and then on to Milan; and during this expedition a truce was to be agreed upon with King Louis of Hungary, brother-in-law of the Emperor and of Ferdinand. Louis, however, had refused to enter into any dealings with the Turks, and the Sultan accordingly had turned straight upon Hungary.[4]

estimated in view of the political importance of Turkey at that time. Charrière rightly remarks (*Négociations de la France dans le Levant*, in the collection of unpublished documents on the history of France, vol. ii. avertissement iv): 'On a peine à représenter, devant un état descendu à un rang inférieur et devenu le jouet de la politique des autres puissances, cette action illimitée qu'il exerçait dans les affaires de l'Europe, et qui à chaque mouvement de cet empire semblait mettre en question l'existence du christianisme et celle de la société européenne tout entière.'

[1] Ferdinand's letter to the Emperor, March 14, 1525, in Lanz's *Correspondenz*, i. 155.

[2] '. . . confugimus ad te magnum Cesarem, ut tu liberalitatem tuam ostendas et filium meum redimas' (Charrière, i. 114).

[3] Hammer, 'Mémoires sur les premières Relations Diplomatiques entre la France et la Porte,' in the *Journal Asiatique*, 10, 19.

[4] See note II. in Appendix.

In his character of 'persecutor of the Christian faith' Solyman announced to the King that he would take possession of everything in Hungary, destroy Buda, plant everywhere the banner of the Prophet, and then chastise the Germans 'as heavily, and indeed more heavily than yourself.'

Hungary, long since smarting under the tyranny of a corrupt aristocratic oligarchy, destitute of money and all the requisites for war, was incapable of any successful resistance to the might of Solyman.[1] Here too there were 'Christian Turks' among the magnates of the land. John Zapolya, Count of Zips and Voyvode of Transylvania, had stirred up ill-feeling against the royal officials,[2] and had hoped, with the Sultan's help, to obtain for himself the Hungarian crown. For this reason he had delayed in bringing up his army to join that of King Louis. The King had mustered barely 20,000 to 24,000 men, whereas Solyman was advancing with more than 200,000. Before the arrival of Solyman his Grand Vizier had already conquered Peterwardein, and on Hungarian territory he presented his sovereign lord with the heads of 500 Christians.

On August 29, 1526, was fought the decisive battle on the plain of Mohacs, when the Christian army succumbed after an heroic struggle. The King several times stormed the Osman batteries, but was carried away in the flight of his men, and found his death in

[1] The frightful state of degradation of the Government and the country is graphically depicted in the reports of two papal nuncios, Cardinal Lorenzo Campeggio and the Freiherr von Burgio. See reports of the nuncios in the *Monumenta Vaticana Hungariae*. The Popes alone helped Hungary with advice and money against the Turks, but the Hungarians themselves did nothing.

[2] Liske's *Polnische Diplomatie in* 1526, p. 35.

a bog. 'The pious young King,' says an account of the battle, 'has been sacrificed as a victim on the shambles; for he has been everywhere betrayed and sold by those whom he loved. This appears from the detailed knowledge which the Turks had of how H.R.M. was circumstanced.'

Many of the Hungarian magnates, besides five bishops and the Archbishops of Gran and Calocsa, were left dead on the battle-field. Nearly 2,000 heads were stuck up in front of the Sultan's tent as symbols of victory, and about 4,000 prisoners were butchered. There was no question of further resistance. The citizens of Buda gave up the keys to the conquerors, and the greater part of the town was destroyed by fire. Far and wide in the direction of Raab and Gran the Turks ravaged the land with fire and sword. Two hundred thousand Hungarians forfeited their lives during this campaign. In Vienna the approach of the barbarians was awaited with trembling. 'If adequate help and provisions do not soon arrive,' wrote Archduke Ferdinand to the Emperor on February 22, 'it may happen that you will hear shortly that I have been overtaken by a fate similar to that which befell King Louis.'

This time, however, Solyman did not press on further. He went back to Constantinople, having first promised some Hungarian nobles who had sworn allegiance to him at Pesth that he would instal the Voyvode Zapolya as their king.

As soon as the Sultan had left the country, Zapolya burst upon Buda with a large army which he had kept back from the fight against the Turks and carried off the royal crown to a Diet at Stuhlweissenberg (Alba

Regia), where he was nominated king by his adherents; and on November 11 the crown was placed on his head.

It was plain now to see, wrote an ambassador of King Sigmund of Poland from Gran on December 3, with what avidity Zapolya had striven after the crown; he had raised a tumult in the land, and had sought to gain over foreign monarchs to his cause, but had not given a thought to the condition of the Empire and the dangers in which it stood. The whole country was frightfully devastated; everywhere there were misery and lamentation; the Turks had occupied in force all the castles and rivers and the principal roads; in their hatred of the Germans people wished for nothing so ardently as an alliance with the Turks and a general invasion of Germany, in case an attack should come from that part.

'It is remarkable,' this ambassador went on, 'that neither merchants nor artisans, neither doctors nor apothecaries are to be seen here; everybody in the place has renounced foreign customs and clothes, especially German ones; art and industry are completely at a standstill; there is a general reversion to barbarous Scythian ways.' [1]

Immediately after his coronation Zapolya proceeded to distribute among his friends all the many clerical and secular posts left vacant by the slaughter on the field of Mohacs, and he sent an embassy to Constantinople to obtain from the Sultan the recognition of his sovereignty. Against the adherents of the Archduke Ferdinand of Austria he proclaimed the penalty of treason and *lèse-majesté*—namely, confiscation of property and infamy.

[1] Liske, pp. 35–36.

On the strength both of ancient settlements of succession and of the claims of his wife Anna, the sister and sole heiress of King Louis, who had fallen at Mohacs, Ferdinand had resolved to make a strong fight for his right to the Hungarian throne; and this not so much for the sake of personal advantage and the aggrandisement of his house as for the protection of the Christian faith and of Christian civilisation, and in order to oppose resistance to the despotic yoke of Turkey. Had Hungary sunk to the condition of a Turkish dependency, it would have formed the strongest rallying-point for all further attacks against the disunited Christian nations. 'I would rather lose all my hereditary dominions and life itself,' said the Archduke, 'than that by means of Zapolya Hungary should be delivered into the hands of the Turks, to the perpetual peril of all that is sacred to us and the ruin of Germany and Christendom.'

At a Diet at Pressburg (also in November) Ferdinand was chosen king by a numerous body of magnates, by the delegates from the Free Cities, and by many of the members of the lesser nobility.

Henceforth all the enemies of the Emperor and of Ferdinand became the friends of Zapolya.

The Kings of France and England now determined to incite the Voyvode to make war on Ferdinand, and the English ambassador at Zapolya's court received instructions from Henry VIII. to plot against the House of Austria with all his might.[1] Francis I. promised the Voyvode that he and his allies would lend him powerful assistance; and his ambassador, Antonius Rincon, was to communicate further details to him.[2] Rincon

[1] Victor v. Kraus, *Englische Diplomatie im Jahre* 1527. Vienna, 1871.
[2] Letter of February 24, 1527, in Charrière, i. 156–158.

also exerted himself actively at the Polish court to promote Zapolya's cause against Ferdinand. An injunction of King Sigmund's that no Pole was to render military service in Hungary was treated with contempt, and the following intelligence came from Ferdinand's ambassador at Cracow to the Chancellor Harrach: 'In spite of Sigmund's orders the people are flocking out of the land to help the Voyvode.' 'The pillaging of the French is abominable.' 'The Frenchman is sending off wagon-loads of hussar spears, shafts, and saddles to be used in Hungary. Your Grace would not believe what a fuss they are making with this envoy from France.'[1]

From the German princes also Zapolya received encouragement to fight against Ferdinand, especially from the Dukes William and Louis of Bavaria, who left no stone unturned to weaken—if possible to annihilate—the power of the Imperial House of Hapsburg.

The strongest incentive to this anti-imperial policy of the dukes was afforded by the candidature for the crown of Bohemia.

The throne of Bohemia had also become vacant by the death of King Louis, and to this kingdom also Ferdinand had the nearest claim, both on the strength of old title-deeds and in right of his wife; this claim he hoped would be established incontestably by the votes of the Bohemian provincial notables. Accordingly on October 8, 1526, he made known to the Estates assembled at Prague that he and his consort were the nearest blood relations and heirs of the defunct king; 'in consideration of contracts, and affinity by marriage,

[1] Letters of Herr von Logschau from June to August 1527; see Bucholtz, iii. 214–222.

as well as of the ties of blood by which his wife was related to the two last kings as daughter and sister, he had just hopes of being the successful candidate. In addition to these claims, moreover, he came of royal stock; and his close kinship and union with the Emperor would insure to the kingdom of Bohemia, which was a fief and a member of the Empire, such valuable and substantial support and assistance as no other sovereign would be able to render.'

But many other rival candidates came forward—the Elector John of Saxony, either for himself or for his son, John Frederic;[1] the Margrave Joachim I. of Brandenburg for his son Joachim; Francis I. of France, and King Sigmund of Poland. But none of them exerted themselves so strenuously to get possession of the throne as did the Dukes William and Louis of Bavaria, who looked upon Ferdinand as a future destroyer of their land and their liberties,[2] and acquiesced readily in the suggestion of one of their agents at Prague 'to bribe the most influential members of the Estates and to make them promises of appointments and other things in order to win them over and put them on the right road.'[3]

The Bavarian ambassador Weissenfelder entertained hopes of a fortunate result from the large sums spent in bribery,[4] and all the more so because the

[1] See *Böhmische Landtagsverhandlungen*, i. 12–15, 136 ('Bohemian Diet Transactions'). See note III. in Appendix.

[2] See their letters in the *Böhmische Landtagsverhandlungen*, i. 120–123.

[3] *Böhmische Landtagsverhandlungen*, i. 128.

[4] The Bavarian 'Safranzetl'—that is, the account of the money expenditure—amounts to 239,500 gulden; in the case of five of the names the sums are not filled in (*Böhmische Landtagsverhandlungen*, i. 127).

French ambassador had made him a solemn promise that in case of Francis I. not succeeding in the election he would exert all his energies in favour of Bavaria; and that if Ferdinand proceeded in any way against the dukes the French King would support them with money and other help. In return for this promise the ambassador had demanded and obtained the assurance that the dukes would maintain a loyal attitude towards Francis I.

On the very day of the election, October 23, the Bavarian dukes received from their ambassador the news that one of themselves had been selected as king by the Electoral Committee, and that on the following day he would be publicly proclaimed as such at the assembly of the Estates. 'I beg of your Grace that you will give me the "Botenbrod,"'[1] wrote Caspar Gruber from Prague on October 23 to one of the dukes, 'for I make known to your Grace that you are elected King of Bohemia;' and Weissenfelder added a note to the letter, saying, 'I mean to win the "Botenbrod" before him.'[2]

All the more bitter, therefore, was the disappointment at Munich when it became known that Ferdinand had been victorious over his rivals, and had been invited by a solemn deputation to take possession of his new kingdom.

The dukes did not hesitate for a moment in tendering their congratulations to the King; it was not himself, they protested, whom they had wished to oppose in their endeavours to obtain the crown; as loyal cousins

[1] Messenger's fee.

[2] See Ferdinand's instructions in Muffat's *Correspondenzen und Actenstücke zur Geschichte der politischen Verhältnisse der Herzoge Wilhelm und Ludwig von Bayern*, &c., p. 35.

and near blood relations they would always trust in him and be faithful to him.

The Bavarian chancellor, Leonhard von Eck, however, now began to play a secret and treacherous game. Even at the risk of a civil war he was determined to keep Ferdinand from the Bohemian throne, and he built his hopes of success on the defeat of the Emperor in Italy, where, meanwhile, war had already broken out.

Once again, in November 1526, the Emperor had sent the Pope assurances of his desire for peace, and had explicitly declared that neither for his own nor for his brother's aggrandisement did he covet one inch of Italian territory. 'I shall do more even than my duty,' wrote Charles to Ferdinand on September 30, 1526, 'in order to make certain of bringing about peace. I will rather sacrifice my own advantage than that through any fault of mine this peace should be hindered. My viceroy of Naples has such full instructions to treat for peace that my enemies cannot exact more of me, nor can I offer more.' The actual fomenter of the war, he said, was the King of France, who wanted to drive him completely out of Italy.[1]

'It was with great pleasure,' wrote Eck in January 1527 to the French ambassador at Chur (Coire in Switzerland), 'that his gracious lords the dukes had heard that the imperial cause was in a bad way in Italy.'[2] If the Emperor were expelled from Italy, he wrote in a letter to the dukes on January 22, it would be easy not only to deprive Ferdinand of the Bohemian crown, but also, 'with very slight manœuvring,'

[1] Lanz, *Correspondenz*, i. 227–228.

[2] Letters of January 19 and 22, 1527, in the *Böhmische Landtagsverhandlungen*, i. 191–194.

to dispossess him of his German lands. In order to prevent Ferdinand's coronation in Bohemia 'the Bohemian magnates must be told that affairs in Italy cause great cares and losses to the Archduke, hampering all his actions and producing confusion.'

Most welcome to the Chancellor was the news which came to the dukes from Prague, through Heinrich von Schwihau, that Zapolya was fitting out an army against Ferdinand, and that he had consented 'to let the Turks march through his territory to Krain and Carinthia' in case Ferdinand should have besieged the castle of Pressburg.[1] 'The more Zapolya can be incensed against the Archduke,' said Eck, 'so much the better it would be.' With skilful diplomacy the dukes must assure the Voyvode that Ferdinand would receive no help from the Empire, and 'that he had himself no money or resources, but was quite destitute.'[2]

In accordance with this advice the dukes sent congratulations to Zapolya on his accession to the throne,[3] laid before him a draft of a twenty years' league to be concluded with him,[4] and gladdened him with the intelligence that through their exertions the Estates of the Empire had been restrained from rendering any assistance to Ferdinand.[5]

When Ferdinand, who had got knowledge of these

[1] Letters of January 9, 1527, in the *Böhmische Landtagsverhandlungen*, i. 191–194.

[2] K. A. Muffat, 'Correspondenzen und Actenstücke zur Geschichte der politischen Verhältnisse der Herzoge Wilhelm und Ludwig von Bayern,' in the *Quellen zur bayerischen und deutschen Geschichte*, pp. 6–9.

[3] Muffat, pp. 1–3. The dukes' instructions to Conrad Posnitzer, January 1527.

[4] Muffat, pp. 29–34.

[5] *Ibid.* pp. 42–43.

intrigues, complained to the dukes, and expressed his surprise that his 'trusty cousins' should behave in such a manner towards him, in spite of their assurances of friendship, the dukes flatly denied that they had any connection with Zapolya.[1] 'They had had no dealings with the Voyvode of Transylvania, who now called himself King of Hungary,' they protested (again at the bidding of Eck), 'which could in any way prejudice the rightful claims of Ferdinand or of his wife to the crown of Hungary.' On the contrary, they declared that they had hitherto always behaved towards Ferdinand 'in an obedient, dutiful, and cousinly manner,' and that 'nothing would be dearer to them than that Ferdinand and his consort should be installed, without war and tumult, in the royal dignity, which was their due, not only in Hungary, but elsewhere.' Should the Voyvode make any advances towards them, they would 'at all times, as became Christian and honourable princes, behave towards Ferdinand in a cousinly manner.'[2]

The sum and substance of Eck's unchanging tactics was 'to frustrate Ferdinand in all his enterprises.'[3]

This policy was actually to be pursued in Germany also, and an attempt made to procure the Roman imperial crown for the House of Bavaria. And Eck, moreover, contemplated making use of the help of France towards this end.

Already in the year 1524 Duke William had informed Ludwig, Elector of the Palatinate, that he was aiming at the dignity of Roman king. He promised

[1] Ferdinand's instructions for Sigmund Ludwig von Polheim to the Dukes of Bavaria, April 24, 1527, in Muffat, pp. 35–38; *Böhmische Landtagsverhandlungen*, i. 247–249.

[2] Muffat, pp. 43–47.

[3] Eck to Duke Wilhelm, December 2, 1527, Muffat, p. 53.

the Elector 100,000 gulden for his vote, and 'had no doubts whatever that the other electors would respond to his solicitations.'[1] In the year 1526 he exerted himself to obtain the support of the Count Palatine Frederic in his pretensions to the Roman crown.[2] After the signing of the League of Cognac he was encouraged in his undertaking by the Pope himself. Clement VII. offered him a loan of 100,000 ducats, and promised in addition to do all in his power for him.[3]

The Bavarian scheme was as follows: to treat first of all with the Electors of the Palatinate and of Treves for their votes; to form an alliance with the Electors of Saxony and the Palatinate, and to this end to 'get round some of the Saxon councillors with money;' Cologne and Treves were also 'to be won over;' the Elector of Mayence was of a wavering disposition; finally, the King of France was to be worked upon to influence the Margrave of Brandenburg to give his vote to Bavaria.[4] At the beginning of the year 1527 the dukes addressed to Francis I. a formal request that he would use all his influence with the Electors to set William on the throne.[5]

The King of France readily granted his full support, and in the following year he offered his assistance also to the Lutheran Landgrave Philip of Hesse, if he would endeavour to make himself King of the Romans by force of arms.

[1] See J. E. Jörg's *Deutschland in der Revolutionsperiode von* 1522 *bis* 1526, p. 620.

[2] Hub. Leodius, *Annales de Vita Friderici II. Electoris Palatini*, pp. 94–95.

[3] See the report of the Bavarian agent Bonaventura Kurss, in Sugenheim's *Bayerns Kirchen- und Volkszustände*, &c., p. 10, note 14.

[4] From the *Bayerischen Denkschrift*, in Sugenheim.

[5] Sugenheim, p. 29, note 69.

The expulsion of the House of Habsburg from the imperial throne was, in fact, reckoned in Paris among the chief aims of French policy. In the French archives of the spring of 1526 there is a record showing how the Electors were to be influenced against Ferdinand, and supplied with money in case of its being necessary to oppose the latter with arms. If Francis I. should succeed in getting a Roman king elected, this king, whoever he might be, would, in conjunction with the Electors, conclude a perpetual alliance with France, and means would also be found to obtain possession of the duchy of Milan.[1]

All these political complications, together with the hostilities and wars in Italy and Hungary, exercised incalculable influence on the inner conditions of Germany.

'Poor Christendom,' we read in the records of a contemporary writer, 'was in great distress and commotion in the year 1526, for discord ruled among the Christian powers and between the upper and lower classes of the nation, and faith and trust between man and man had disappeared. Germany, which after the great insurrections and bloodshed it had gone through had built its hopes on the Emperor—who, indeed, would gladly have come if he could to restore peace and justice and good government in the Holy Empire—Germany was deserted like an orphan child. Instead of justice, injustice and tyranny lifted their heads higher and higher, and one innovation followed another, and there was no longer any security either for the holy faith or for the goods and chattels of the Church and

[1] K. Lanz, *Staatspapiere zur Geschichte des Kaisers Karl V.*

clergy, and all injustice and wrong found shelter under the cloak of the Gospel.' [1]

Pope and Emperor, to the joy of all the new religionists, stood opposed to each other in the fight.[2] Owing to the war that was raging, the Emperor was compelled to postpone his visit to the Empire for many years. The Catholic Dukes of Bavaria, while simulating friendship to the Emperor, were secretly in league with all the enemies of the imperial House, were plotting the ruin of that House, and were even ready to make use of the pecuniary aid of the Sultan in compassing its downfall. The 'Most Christian King of France,' destitute of all honour, was stirring up the Turks to plunder and carnage in the Austrian hereditary lands, and was heaping on himself the curses and malediction of many thousands of unhappy victims, who, after they had lost wives and children and everything, were sold like dray cattle into Turkish slavery. While in his own country he cruelly persecuted the apostates from the Catholic faith as 'contemners of the royal will,' he stood forth as champion of the heterodox princes and cities of Germany and fomented religious discord wherever he could.

Unhindered by the authority of the Emperor, and supported by foreign help, German princes and cities were able to carry out the politico-religious revolution in their own territories, to put down the Catholic Church system, and to get the control of the Church into their own hands.

[1] *Codex Trierer Sachen und Briefschaften*, ii. 170, note.

[2] 'Laetabantur interea et exultabant Lutherani, quod tanta inter Ecclesiae capita venisset discordia, quippe illis dissidentibus impunitatem sibi promittebant' (*Kil. Leib.* p. 504

CHAPTER II

ORIGIN OF TERRITORIAL CHURCHES—DIET AT AUGSBURG—FIRST RELIGIOUS CONFERENCES AND COVENANTS, 1525–1526.

SINCE the year 1520 Luther had been persistently attacking all existing Church organisation at its foundations; he had repudiated and set at nought all ecclesiastical authority and had set up claims which aimed at the destruction of the whole order by law established. He had summoned Emperor, kings, and princes to a bloody war against the Pope and the cardinals, 'those apostles of destruction,' as he called them, and against 'the whole swarm of the Romish Sodom;' he had adjured them to have recourse to the force of arms and 'to make a fierce attack on the pest of the universe and bring the matter to a decision, not with words but with iron and steel.' The clergy who did not follow his gospel he had declared to be outside the pale of law and justice; all bishops who had shown themselves as opponents of his doctrine he called idolatrous priests and servants of the devil; they must be regarded, he said, 'as spots and blemishes of the whole world,' and 'they would soon be the victims of a violent upheaval which would root them out of the earth.' In a violent war manifesto in 1523 he had clamoured for the destruction of bishoprics and the annihilation of episcopal government, thus demanding also the overthrow

of the imperial constitution, since the bishops were not only spiritual shepherds but also for the most part German territorial princes as well.[1]

A few weeks after the publication of this manifesto Franz von Sickingen had entered the field in execution of its threats. By the overthrow of the bishops he had intended to 'open up a way for the "Gospel," and by a simultaneous attack on the overweening power of the secular principalities, to procure for the knights of the Empire an improved political position.' But this undertaking had failed, and after his defeat the political independence of the lesser nobility had been destroyed: the *Reichsritterschaft* (Knights of the Empire) as such no longer exercised any influence on the fate of the Empire, and what was loss to the knights was entire gain to the princes of the Empire.[2]

After the overthrow of the imperial nobility the principles of the politico-religious revolution had penetrated more and more deeply among the lower classes, and the immediate result had been a great social upheaval throughout the towns and the provinces, under the guise of a war for the sake of the Gospel. But this insurrection also had been quelled, and again it was the princes of the Empire who had reaped most profit from the triumph over democracy. Burghers and peasants had hoped for a weakening or a complete suppression of the power of the princes. They had not been fighting for any visionary utopian ideas, but for the furtherance of justifiable demands for a system of

[1] See our statement, vol. ii. pp. 111 ff., 238–246 (*English Translation*, iii. 117 *sq.*, 264–275).

[2] See our statements, vol. ii. pp. 247–281 (*English Translation*, iii. 276–316).

protective law, for the remodelling of law courts in accordance with the old Germanic traditions, and for the preservation of ancient customs and liberties against the grinding oppression of the princes and the territorial lords, and the fleecing of capitalist undertakers. By the defeat of the party of liberty, the 'poor man' had lost all his rights, and the peasants for centuries to come were left a defenceless prey to the arbitrary will of the powerful classes, with no better lot than one of suffering and endurance.[1]

Throughout the entire nation the ardently cherished hope of effecting a reorganisation of the constitution on popular lines was wholly at an end. The pagan Roman law, with all its corrupting influences, for the suppression of which the revolutionists had fought, now first gained a wide and irresistible sway. The princes, victorious over the revolution, used their augmented power entirely for their own advantage, in opposition to the authority of the Emperor and the freedom of the nation.

The 'new Gospel' also was to be made subservient to this end.

Up to the outbreak of the social revolution none of the princes had taken a decided line in favour of the new doctrines—not even the Elector Frederic of Saxony, who, while weakly and irresolutely allowing the movement to take its course, did not personally break with the old Church. The democratic spirit which characterised Luther's proceedings, and his denunciations of German princes as 'usually the biggest fools or the worst scoundrels on earth,' were not calcu-

[1] See our fuller statements, vol. ii. pp. 440–623 (*English Translation*, iv. 143–369).

lated to procure the reformer many adherents among the higher ranks of society. 'The people will not,' so Luther had threatened the princes in 1523, 'they cannot, they shall not endure your tyranny and oppression any longer. The world is no longer what it was formerly, when you could hunt and drive the people like wild game.' Even after the peasants had raised the standard of rebellion Luther had pointed to the unendurable oppression of the common people by princes and lords as the sole cause of this revolt.[1]

When the revolution, however, had proved a failure, Luther's language completely changed its tone. He and Melanchthon then began to proclaim the political doctrine—altogether unknown in the history of German law—of the unlimited power of rulers over their subjects; insisted on unconditional obedience to the commands of those in authority; preached and taught slavery and despotism. From the peasants' war, so they said, the ruling powers should learn in future to govern with firmness and severity. The common people must be kept down with 'heavy weights,' or they would become insolent. The German people, Melanchthon had already said in 1525, was 'such a wild, undisciplined, bloodthirsty nation,' that it was necessary to curtail its freedom and hold it in much tighter check than had hitherto been done.[2]

This novel teaching now formed a substantial basis for the consolidation of princely power.

It was not only in political respects, however, but

[1] See our statement, vol. ii. pp. 261 *sq.*, 519 *sq.* (*English Translation*, iv. 246 *sq.*)

[2] See our statements, vol. ii. p. 618 *sq.* (*Engl. Transl.* iv. 361 *sq.*)

in religious matters also, that the 'Gospel' was used to forward the purposes of the ruling powers.

Luther, in the beginning, had set up the principle of universal priesthood in order to destroy the Catholic Church system, and had adjudged to every 'Christian assembly or community' the right and the power 'to pronounce judgment on all doctrines, to nominate teachers and pastors, to appoint and depose them.' Every Christian, he had said, who saw that the right teacher was wanting was himself taught and anointed by God for the priesthood, and 'bound, at the peril of his soul's perdition, to come forward and teach the Word of God.'

It was naturally impossible to build a new church and church organisation on such principles as these;[1] their inevitable result, on the contrary, was complete lawlessness in religious matters. Everywhere teachers arose who, self-confident as Luther and starting from his Scriptural standpoint, boasted that they alone possessed the clue to the right interpretation of the Divine Word, and proclaimed their own opinions as the 'one true Gospel.' Already at the beginning of 1525 Luther had declared that there were in Germany 'as many sects and creeds as there were heads.' 'This one,' he wrote, 'rejects baptism; another denies the Sacrament; a third places a new world between the present one and the day of judgment. Some also teach that Christ is not God; some say this, some say the other. There is no base ignorant fellow but if he has dreamt or

[1] See Maurenbrecher's *Studien und Skizzen*, pp. 344, 346, and Gottschick's *Luther's Anschauungen vom christl. Gottesdienst*, and Egelhaaf's *Deutsche Geschichte im 16ten Jahrhundert*, &c., ii. 10. See note IV., Appendix.

thought something or other the Holy Ghost must have inspired him, and he straightway becomes a prophet.'[1]

In all places where the authority of the Church had been repudiated, all other judicial authority collapsed also: the sole point of agreement between all the different teachers and sects was in the rejection and vilification of Catholic doctrines and institutions.

Side by side with the growing anarchy in matters of faith there was a constantly increasing decay of spiritual, philanthropic, and intellectual life, and the melancholy fate of the higher branches of study and of the higher schools and colleges was shared by the primary or elementary schools, which fell year by year into a worse state of decadence.

'Everywhere,' Luther laments in the year 1524, 'the schools are going to ruin.' 'It will soon come to this: that schoolmasters, pastors, and preachers will have to give up their trades and take to handicrafts.'

The new doctrines of justification by faith alone, and of the non-freedom of the human will, had seriously impaired the spirit of ready self-sacrifice for the sake of the higher benefits of life, which had formerly characterised all classes of society.

If, as Luther taught, faith in the merits of Christ was in itself sufficient guarantee of salvation, and if justification in the sight of God depended solely on the atoning death of Christ; if the good works which are the natural result of faith had no value in respect of eternal life, and no influence on the relations of man to God, the inevitable conclusion arrived at by countless numbers of the adherents of the new religion was that good works might be dispensed with, and not only

[1] Letter to the Christians at Antwerp, De Wette, iii. 61.

were fasts and confession, pilgrimages, and other pious exercises renounced, but all charitable gifts and legacies to poor-houses, hospitals, orphanages, churches, and schools ceased also. All donations of this sort were stopped, and even the foundations and endowments which had been handed down from past generations were in danger of being completely done away with.[1]

To national morality also this doctrine of non-freedom of the human will was equally mischievous. Complaints became universal of the growing licentiousness of the people resulting from this teaching.

Neither on the basis of Luther's doctrines nor by means of the new organisation of preachers had it been possible to build up a new Church system; the dissolution of the existing one was all that had been accomplished. Wherever there was no inclination shown to return to the authority of the Church and to her ordinances, it was to be feared that all hold on the truths of Christianity would be lost, and that all remnants of Christian life would disappear amid the general demoralisation of the people.

In this extremity the heads and leaders of the religious revolution called on the secular powers for help, and placed the Church at the service of the State; the Secular Government was appealed to to assume the control of Church matters, to take possession of all Church property and Church institutions, and to establish and proclaim the new religion as the only authorised religion of the State.

[1] See our statements, vol. ii. pp. 316–327, 391–413 (*Engl. Transl.* iii. 355 and ff., iv. 83–120). Concerning the new religionists' doctrine of justification by faith, as opposed to the Catholic doctrine, see our pamphlet *An meine Kritiker*, pp. 82–88 (last ed.)

Thus the final outcome of the heretical doctrines was the exaltation of the authority of the State over that of the Church. Princes in their territories, magistrates in the towns, became the directors and controllers of the outward fabric of the Church and of Church property and revenues, and at the same time chief bishops and overseers, independent of any recognised spiritual authority, of the new State Church which was gradually forming itself. The doctrines of the faith were thus placed under the supreme control of the secular authorities and made subject to the decision and approval of the territorial lords.

The result of the novel doctrines of unlimited dominion of rulers over their subjects, and of the subjection of the Church to the State, added to the prospect of rich booty from sequestered Church lands and revenues, was the attraction of a considerable number of princes to the new religion. Among those who openly declared themselves its adherents were the Grand Master of the Teutonic Knights in Prussia, Margrave Albrecht of Brandenburg; the Elector John of Saxony; the Landgrave Philip of Hesse; the Margraves Casimir and George of Brandenburg-Culmbach; Dukes Philip, Otto, Ernest, and Francis of Brunswick-Lüneburg; Prince Wolfgang von Anhalt, and Duke Henry of Mecklenburg.

In the free cities also the 'new Gospel' won fresh disciples every year. The towns were as eager as the princes to increase their territorial rights by immunity from all taxes to bishops and clerical corporations, by confiscation of Church property, and by the transfer of episcopal jurisdiction to secular authority.

The new religionists counted undoubtedly in their

ranks many sincere, disinterested persons both of the subject and the ruling classes, the cultivated and the uncultivated, but to how slight an extent any real religious need or moral earnestness, either among the masses or among the upper classes, was at the bottom of the movement was plainly evidenced by the coarse, turbulent, violent proceedings which characterised it. The newly proclaimed 'evangelical freedom' was made use of for the suppression of all freedom of conscience; there was no such thing as respect for the sincere convictions of persons of a different way of thinking.

With a view to proceeding as freely and unrestrainedly as possible, the princes of the new faith sought 'to strengthen themselves by alliances for the promulgation of the Gospel,' and offered themselves as confederates to the cities, whose resources they contemplated drawing on in time of need. The towns, which had formerly been the staunchest supporters of imperial power, and to whose interest it had been to thwart the power of the princes, grasped the proffered hand of friendship and made common cause with the Protestant princes against the Emperor.

Among the German princes it was the Margrave Casimir von Brandenburg-Culmbach who set the example in turning the failure of the social revolution to personal politico-clerical ends.

At the most flourishing period of robber-knighthood in Franconia, Casimir had stood in 'very evil repute' for having frequently harboured the bandit Thomas von Absberg and his associates in his feudal castles.[1] He

[1] See our statements, ii. 250 (*English Transl.* iii. 280).

had carried on active relations with the peasants in Würzburg, and the insurgents had been firmly convinced that he would accept the 'twelve articles' and soon become 'a Christian Brother.' 'It would now be easy,' so Count William von Henneberg had represented to the Margrave on May 10, 1525, 'with the help of the peasants and the Landgrave Philip of Hesse, to transform the bishopric of Würzburg into a secular principality, and to make a Brandenburgish Margrave Duke of Franconia.' But after the junction of the Palatine army with the Suabian League, and the defeat of the peasants at Königshofen, Casimir had put forth all his power against the insurgents and had become the most brutal persecutor of peasants and burghers. At Kitzingen fifty-seven burghers had had their eyes put out on the same day by his orders; later on he had inflicted the same ghastly punishment on two brothers in sight of their wives and children, while many other victims of his cruelty had had their fingers chopped off.[1] At least 500 people in his two principalities of Ansbach and Baireuth had been handed over by him to the mercy of the executioner, and he had realised a sum of 100,000 guldens by means of fines. To the nobles of his territory who complained of this extortionate treatment of his dependents he answered that as 'sovereign ruler and war lord' he considered himself entitled to act as he had done. The flourishing condition of the peasants at that period presented golden opportunities for 'fleecing.' Among those who had been put to death or banished from the land there were few whose possessions, in

[1] See our statements, ii. 584–590, 604 (*English Transl.* iv. 323–331, 349).

spite of the long period of devastation, and after payment of all debts, did not realise at least from 50 to 100 gold guldens; there were peasants in every village who owned 700 to 1,000 gold florins.[1] Casimir, however, did not confine his blackmailing to the peasants and burghers; he also robbed the cloisters under his suzerainty of all their money, jewels, and silver vessels.[2]

After the defeat of the peasants Casimir summoned at Forchheim, on July 11, 1525, an assembly of the princes and towns belonging to the Suabian League, for the purpose of conferring over measures for preventing further insurrection and for proclaiming the 'pure Word of God' to the people. A committee, chosen under the preponderating influence of the margraviate of Nuremberg, laid before the assembly a Memorandum to the effect that, 'as the present disturbances have for the most part originated with ignorant and turbulent preachers, so, for the prevention of fresh risings, "sound preachers" must be appointed to preach the "true and pure Word of God" to the people.' All Franconian princes and towns, and also the Bishops of Bamberg and Würzburg, were to 'behave graciously and honourably towards these same preachers of the pure word,' and 'even if the bishops would not agree to any final settlement without a council' they were at least to grant the preachers toleration until the decision of a council. The bishops were also in like manner to tolerate that the 'cere-

[1] According to the then value of money a knight's fortune; see Lanz's *Geschichte von Baireuth*, i. 196–197, 212.

[2] Höfler, *Fränkische Studien*, viii. 266, Nos. 153 and 154; Friedensburg, *Zur Vorgeschichte des Gotha-Jorganischen Bündnisses der Evangelischen*, 1525–1526, p. 34, note 2.

monies' (by which, according to the phraseology of the day, the Holy Mass was especially meant) should be observed in each church in such manner as 'each individual clergyman considered fit and suitable;' for if 'Christian and learned pastors' were appointed 'there was no reason to fear that they would do anything unchristian or offensive with regard to the ceremonies.' In Casimir's Memorandum there were dogmatic injunctions as to how the clergy were to preach on the Christian doctrine of justification, on the law and the Gospel, and on Christian freedom, in which the Margrave deviated substantially from Luther's doctrine on justification. Casimir, however, fully endorsed Luther's and Melanchthon's new political opinions on the unconditional obedience due from subjects to their rulers. The Bishops of Würzburg and Bamberg could naturally not consent to proposals of such a sort.

Casimir wrote on July 17 to the Count Palatine Frederic that at the meeting at Forchheim they had not been able to come to any satisfactory final settlement with the bishops, and he therefore proposed coming to Amberg to see whether an alliance on the basis of the Memorandum (Rathschlag) could not be formed between himself, the Palatine princes, and the Franconian estates, exclusive of the bishops.[1]

A conference between Casimir and the Count Palatine was arranged to take place at Auerbach on August 16. Prior to this interview Casimir and his brother George came to an agreement with the Elector John of Saxony at Saalfeld that the electors of Saxony and of the Palatinate should summon all the secular

[1] Jörg, pp. 624-628.

electors and princes to a Diet, at which they should enter into an undertaking 'with regard to the Gospel, and consider how the breaches between the spiritual and secular princes were to be healed.' At Auerbach the Count Palatine Frederic undertook the task of summoning a Diet of all the secular princes of the House of Bavaria at Esslingen, at which the Emperor was to be petitioned to convoke a general, or at any rate a German national council, 'for the purpose of establishing uniformity in the exposition of the Divine Word.' If the Emperor refused to convoke a Diet, the Palatinate and Saxony must arrange a conference of the electors and princes, 'in order to meet this exigency.' The electors must then proclaim that 'henceforth all preaching' must be in accordance with the resolutions that had been passed at Forchheim, 'and further confirmed by all the electoral and princely councillors.' In the meanwhile, however, each prince and elector should be authorised to promulgate the Forchheim decision in his territory.

Thus Casimir's scheme of religion was not only to be put forward as a provisional standard of doctrine for the clergy of the Empire, but it was to be submitted to an assembly of the princes, which assembly was to be convoked with or without the Emperor's sanction, as a scheme based on the 'right and true understanding of the Gospel,' and to be developed into final shape according to the opinions of the majority.[1]

Casimir himself lost no time in announcing this scheme abroad. On August 30 he declared by a public mandate, in his and his brother's name, that the Forchheim 'Rathschlag' was binding on all the preachers in his principality.

[1] Jörg, pp. 630-631.

He issued orders that the preachers must teach 'the pure plain Word of God.' If, however, they preached that 'faith alone was sufficient for salvation,' they must always explain that it was not an empty dead faith which was meant, but a true and living one, out of which 'there must always of necessity proceed right good works, commanded by God, towards God and towards one's neighbour,' and that 'the one could not exist without the other.' Concerning Christian freedom and the relations between prince and subject they must 'always explain to the people in plain German language' that this freedom was 'only an inward spiritual thing,' that it had to do with the spirit only, not with the flesh; that it consisted only in emancipation from the laws of sin and death, and not in deliverance from 'rents, fines, taxes, tithes, services, and other outward burdens and grievances, as the subjects call them.' All subjects were bound to yield obedience to their rulers in these temporal matters. Even when the rulers were guilty of injustice the people must obey. 'Although a ruler, or some one else in authority,' the preachers were to impress on the people, 'should extort his traditional revenues in an unjust manner, the subjects must nevertheless not rise up against him in violent revolt, but they must leave the punishment of the ruler's offence to God, since every true Christian must suffer but not commit injustice.'[1] All clergymen who did not preach the Gospel 'pure and unadulterated,' according to the ideas of the Margrave, but promulgated 'human nonsense'—that

[1] Von der Lith's *Erläuterung der Reformationshistorie von* 1524–28, &c., pp. 132–138. See Hagen's *Deutschlands literarische und religiöse Verhältnisse*, iii. 147–149.

is, the old Catholic doctrines—were threatened by Casimir with loss of life and property.[1]

Meanwhile the imperial summons to a Diet at Augsburg[2] had been issued, and the new-religionist princes and towns made their preparations for the occasion.

At the beginning of September 1525 town delegates assembled at Spires, but, as most of the Rhenish towns did not send delegates to the Diet, a general league of the cities, which had already been proposed at a municipal Diet at Ulm at the end of July, could not be effected, and further transactions in the matter were postponed until the meeting of the Diet at Augsburg. With regard to matters of faith the delegates at Spires made the same complaint as the princes—namely, that 'there was a want of uniformity in the interpretation of the holy Evangel by preachers in the towns and other common people elsewhere,' from which there resulted, as had been already experienced in the late insurrection, 'seduction of souls and the ruin of all authority and security.' As a remedy, however, the delegates had no intention of returning to the old 'uniformity of the Church,' but they required of the imperial Statthalder, Archduke Ferdinand, that he should obtain from the Emperor the right for the towns 'to confer and act among themselves with regard to a general, uniform, and unanimous settlement of Christian ordinances in accordance with the Word of God.'[3]

Among the princes who adopted the new religion the Landgrave Philip of Hesse was especially active in

[1] Von der Lith, p. 117.

[2] See above, p. 3.

[3] Recess (*Abschied*) of the Diet of Spires of September 9, 1525, in the Frankfort archives, 1525.

its cause. On October 5 he sent his master of the bedchamber, Rudolph von Waiblingen, to the Elector John of Saxony with the announcement that he had become an adherent of 'the Evangel and of the divine truth,' and the request that the Elector would join with him at the Diet of Augsburg in opposing all attempts of the clergy and others to keep up evil abuses in opposition to the truth. To this end he begged that the Elector would appear in person at Augsburg and induce other princes also who were followers of 'the word of God' to attend the Diet.[1] The Elector received Philip's announcement with peculiar delight and marked emotion, and sent him back the assurance that he too was in the highest degree zealous for the 'Evangel,' and that he would ally himself with the Dukes of Mecklenburg and Pomerania, the Margrave of Brandenburg, and the towns, and would also draw to himself counts and other nobles, so that by united action they might be more influential and successful in promoting all 'that was most in accordance with the Word of God.'[2] On November 7 the Landgrave and the Saxon Elector, John Frederic, agreed together, at an interview in the hunting castle of Friedewald, that the Saxon and Hessian envoys must be instructed to come to a closer understanding with respect to the 'Evangel,' and to endeavour to win over as many like-minded princes and towns as possible; also to draw into their confidence all the counts who were inclined to the 'Evangel.'[3]

[1] Instruction in Rommel's *Philipp der Grossmüthige, Landgraf von Hessen*, iii. 10-13.

[2] *Die Verhandlungen* in Ranke, vi. 125.

[3] Ranke, vi. 127; Friedensburg's *Zur Vorgeschichte*, p. 49 *sq.*

The Diet of Augsburg, which had been fixed by the Emperor for October 1, and then postponed to November 11, was finally opened on December 11 by the Imperial Stattholder, Archduke Ferdinand. But, as no single prince appeared in person except the Bishop of Trent, and as several of the Estates were not even represented by deputies, no important business could be attempted. It was consequently decided to prorogue the meeting till May 1, and then to hold it at Spires, where all the electors and princes were to be enjoined to be present without fail, 'in order to discuss and settle those most weighty and difficult questions with which the German nation was more seriously harassed now than ever before in the memory of man.' With regard to the 'dissensions and schisms in the Christian faith,' the following decision was embodied in the Recess of the Diet on January 9, 1526: 'Whereas a goodly number of preachers have presumed to strain and to twist the Gospel and the Word of God into all sorts of different meanings, it is hereby decreed that every ruling authority, whether of spiritual or secular estate, shall give diligent attention and earnest supervision, in order that in their principalities, territories, and districts, the Holy Evangel and the Word of God shall be preached according to the right and true interpretation and understanding of the universal Christian Church, without tumult and offence, and for the maintenance of the glory of God and of peace and unity.' Seeing that it was impossible without 'unanimity, concord, and agreement in the Christian faith' to re-establish general peace in the Empire, it was considered expedient and imperative that a general free council of the whole of Christendom should be

convoked, and it had been resolved to appeal to the Emperor to summon such a council.[1]

Even the staunchly Catholic Duke George of Saxony, in a memorandum to his delegate, expressed the ardent wish that 'whereas, unfortunately, both the spiritual and the secular Estates had so far departed from Christian order as to make a substantial reform necessary at both ends, the Pope and the Emperor might as speedily as possible unite in convoking a Christian Council' at which 'all the Estates should be restored to right Christian order,' and all abuses be done away with. At the same time no innovations in Christian ordinances were to be attempted by the Estates at their assembly, for the Diet 'did not represent or take the place of an assembly of the Christian Church.'

The Duke in his despatch gave a melancholy picture of the condition of the Empire. It was true, he said, that the disturbances occasioned by the Lutheran teaching had been put down, but the clerical innovations and outrages were so great and perilous that 'worse evils than had happened before were to be feared' if serious preventive measures were not set on foot. In numbers of places attempts were every day going on, unchecked and unpunished, to get monks and nuns out of their cloisters either by threats, promises, or violence; Church property was taken possession of everywhere 'as though it were honestly acquiring goods.' No abbey, no foundation was any longer secure in its possessions. Princes, nobles, and cities might with impunity abuse and blaspheme God's Holy Sacrament

[1] New Collection of *Recesses*, ii. 270-272. Concerning the Augsburg Diet see fuller details in Friedensburg's *Zur Vorgeschichte*, pp. 64-89.

and trample it under foot; destroy churches, seize and spend the alms-money. If the old Church organisation were not restored, the judgment pronounced by God Himself would fall on their heads. 'Every kingdom that is divided against itself shall fall to the ground;' this was plainly proved in the empire of the Greeks and in other empires. In consequence of the collapse of Church authority and Christian unity every individual now set himself up to explain the Gospel according to his own liking, so that there were already more heresies in vogue than there were articles in the Christian faith. Discord and division had even spread to family life; there was scarcely a household in which the members were of one mind. It was the fashion to talk of necessary reforms, but it was not reforms that were being aimed at, but a complete overthrow of all existing institutions.[1]

How greatly a consummation of this sort was desired by a certain set was shown by a Memorandum which 'certain lovers of the spiritual and temporal welfare of the nation' had drawn up at the Diet of Augsburg. 'The numerous bishoprics, cloisters, and other benefices and Church endowments,' said this document, 'were no longer of any use to the Christian faith and the Holy Empire, and they must be turned to other and better accounts in a Christian manner.' This reorganisation

[1] Höfler, *Charitas Pirkheimer*, pp. lxii-lxxiii. To his son-in-law, Philip of Hesse, who had referred him to the Bible, Duke George wrote in 1525, 'He knew that book very well, and it was precisely there that he had read that a tree was known by its fruits. What, however, were the fruits which Luther's agitation had produced? Collapse of all discipline and order, disobedience, turbulence, violation of the most sacred vows; Luther himself had three or four sins of perjury on his conscience, &c. &c. (Friedensburg's *Beiträge zum Briefwechsel zwischen Herzog Georg von Sachsen und Landgraf Philipp von Hessen*).

must be carried out by the secular authorities, whose business it was to promote Christian order and the common welfare. The secular Estates of the Diet must therefore take in hand and accomplish the work independently of the clerical Estates.

The immediate aim of this Memorandum was the abolition of spiritual principalities and the complete secularisation of clerical property. Its provisions were as follows:—

In each one of the six old circles of the Empire[1] a chief officer was to be chosen by the notables of the circle, whose appointment was to be confirmed by the Emperor; to each chief officer there were to be assigned twelve councillors, chosen in equal numbers from the princes, the counts and lords, the great nobles, and the representatives of the free cities. This new district council was to have the management of peace and justice, to constitute the higher tribunal of the circle, to collect the Church revenues and spend them 'for the common good.' One part of those revenues was to be devoted to the formation of a standing army of cavalry and infantry, drawn chiefly from the nobility, for the constant service of the Emperor and the Empire. First and foremost, however, the district council was to provide out of the confiscated Church property 'a suitable and adequate annual income' for every one of the spiritual princes and prelates (especially the canons), according to his position, so that their incomes might be no smaller than they had hitherto been. On the death of the then incumbents no successors were to be appointed, but the benefices were to be made over to the district councils. In every circle two or three

[1] See our statement in vol. i. p. 639 (*English Translation*, ii. 299).

convents were to be left standing for the benefit of young ladies of the nobility, who, however, were to have the right of going out of them, if they wished, and marrying. The pastors and preachers were also to be provided for by the district council out of the ecclesiastical revenues, 'according to their necessities, with suitable provision.'

This secular governing body, as highest clerical authority, was also to have the right of decision concerning the true interpretation of the Divine Word: it was to see that the pastors and preachers were 'pious, learned, Christian men;' it was further to appoint in each circle 'one pious, learned, Christian man, as bishop, who was to have no secular jurisdiction, and was to be content with the remuneration assigned to him.' This bishop was to be merely 'the chief of the Church officials' of the circle, he was to 'act and behave in accordance with the plain Word of God,' and was 'to do and undertake nothing that was in opposition to that word.' Further, for the training of Christian pastors and for the common benefit a high school was to be established in each circle, in which 'the Scriptures were to be taught according to their true interpretation, and as an aid to their study the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin tongues were also to be learnt.'

One of the principal methods resorted to for justifying the confiscation of Church property, and the oppression of the clergy, and for undermining all reverence of the people for the priesthood, was the circulation of every variety of printed calumny against the whole ecclesiastical body.

A new pamphlet of this description was published by Luther on New Year's Day 1526, while the Estates

were conferring at Augsburg. In it he attacked the Pope, the bishops, and the whole of the clergy, secular and monastic, in the most virulent manner. 'Not to speak of the abuses and scandals they carry on with their masses and other divine services,' he said, 'they are the locusts, cankerworms, cockchafers, and venomous reptiles that have devoured and destroyed the earth.' There must be no end of 'deriding and abusing the Papacy and the clergy' till 'the scarlet w. . . . was trampled down like the dirt of the streets, and nothing was held in greater contempt on earth than this blood-thirsty Jezebel.' Backed up by the help of the 'godless princes and lords,' the clergy hoped, now that the insurgent peasants were put down, to be completely reinstated, and to attain to even greater honour. Hence it was necessary, by writing and poetising, by singing and painting, to show up in its true light the diabolical nature of this race of 'idolaters.' 'Cursed be he,' exclaims Luther, 'who keeps silence in this matter when he knows that by speaking out he can render a service to God, in whose mind it is, and who has already begun to make an end of these abominations and grind these monsters into dust.'[1]

Prominent among the princes whom Luther denounced as 'godless,' and as defending the cause of the clergy—that is to say, those who retained the Catholic religion in their territories and would have nothing to do with the religious innovations which were imperilling peace and order—were the Elector Joachim of Brandenburg, Duke George of Saxony, and the Dukes Eric and Henry of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel.

[1] *Collected Works*, xxix. 377–378.

On July 19, 1525,[1] these four princes attended sessions at Dessau, and Duke George informed the meeting of an alliance which, after the defeat of the peasants at Frankenhausen, he had concluded with the Elector John of Saxony and the Landgrave Philip of Hesse, to the effect that they would take stringent measures against any attempts of the peasants at forming fresh confederacies, and if necessary support each other mutually with all their forces, and endeavour to draw other princes also into this league. The four princes answered the Duke as follows: They were well disposed to such an alliance with the Electors of Saxony and Hesse; but in their opinion it was advisable that in transacting the matter 'they should also confer together as to how the root of these disturbances—viz. the accursed Lutheran sects—might be got rid of; for it would not be easy to suppress the insurrection completely unless these same Lutherans were exterminated. This the princes would be able to do if they all joined together, and they held themselves bound to accomplish the work, seeing that they as well as the other Estates had promised the imperial ruler of the Holy Empire to abide by the services and ceremonies of the Catholic Church until these should be altered by a unanimous council.' If Saxony and Hesse would agree to discuss and settle this point at a future Diet, they would gladly ally themselves with them and help to form a plan by which all those who raised disturbances, or in any way occasioned them, might be extirpated. They hoped by this means to avert and get rid of all dissension, danger, and turbulence, and as Christian princes to maintain Christian order for the welfare of their subjects. Duke George

[1] Not on June 26. See Friedensburg, *Zur Vorgeschichte*, p. 12, note 3.

communicated the above statements to the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave Philip, under the impression that since the insurrection of the peasants these two princes had ceased to be 'Lutheranly-minded.' 'What passed in Dessau,' wrote Duke George later on to Philip, 'was made known to you by me. Had the other princes and I myself had any idea that your Graces both' (*i.e.* the Landgrave Philip and the Elector John) 'still remained "Lutherans," after the bad example which has been set by this sect, which your Graces are well aware of, and indeed have yourselves lent the sword to punish, we should not have addressed ourselves to your Graces to ask again for help.'[1]

Anything in the nature of an attack on the Lutherans outside their own territory was far from the intentions of the Dessau confederates. The sole object of their alliance was that 'in case any of the Lutherans should attack or molest any of themselves on account of the Lutheran question, they would stand by each other for mutual defence against such an attack or insurrection.' This is evident not only from Duke George's assurance to his son-in-law the Landgrave, but also from a letter of the Elector Joachim to Duke George, which shows plainly that it was only a question of defence against such people who 'used violence' with others to force them into the 'Lutheran heresy.'[2] In like manner Duke Henry of Brunswick informed the Emperor that 'he had formed a league with his friends against the Lutherans for defence against any of the sect who should attempt to make converts by fraud or violence.'[3]

[1] Seidemann's *Dessauer Bündniss*, pp. 651–652. [2] *Ibid.* p. 650.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 652; Friedensburg's *Zur Vorgeschichte*, p. 100, note 4.

With a view to soliciting the help of the Emperor against proceedings of this sort, Duke George, Duke Henry, Archbishop Albert, and Bishop William of Strassburg held a conference together at Leipzig after the Diet of Augsburg. They described the position of affairs in a memorandum to the Emperor, which Duke Henry was to carry over in person. The late insurrection, and all that had resulted from it, had been caused, they said, by renegade monks and priests, who, by venomous, revolutionary language, and by the accursed Lutheran teaching, had brought death and destruction on the poor simple populace. The number of these monks and priests, they went on to say, was increasing in all directions, and unless the Emperor took serious preventive measures, fresh insurrections would undoubtedly break out; wars and tumults also between the princes and lords of the Empire; and finally grave and irrepressible disaffection and disobedience to the Emperor himself would be the consequence. They mentioned as a special and peculiar danger that 'they were day by day attacked by certain "Lutheran" princes and towns, with all sorts of artifices, in order to induce them to forsake the Catholic Church and to adopt the new opinions. As, however, they were not minded to fall away from the Christian Gospel laws and the old ordinances, they were fearful lest the Lutheran princes and towns might attempt, either through cunning wiles or by stirring up revolt among their subjects, to force them into joining their party.'[1] Immediately after the meeting Duke Henry set off for Spain.

Already before the assembly of the princes at Leipzig the cathedral chapter of Mayence had convened the

[1] Schmidt's *Geschichte der Deutschen*, xi. 279–280.

delegates of the twelve chapters of its suffragan dioceses, in order to confer as to the best means of warding off the imminent danger of a general disturbance. At this meeting also it was resolved to send a deputation to the Emperor to inform him of all the grievances from which the ecclesiastical estate was suffering. In the 'Rathschlag' drawn up for this deputation it was stated that, 'despite the imperial mandate, the clergy, by reason of Lutheran doctrine and artifices, were oppressed with intolerable grievances by the secular powers, and wellnigh driven to ruin; attempts were actually being made to exterminate them. All existing Christian ordinances were being overthrown. The secular authorities were abolishing all divine service, breaking into cloisters, expelling monks and nuns, and confiscating Church property in all directions. 'They depose and banish the lawful pastors, and, by force, put in their places followers of the Lutheran doctrine.' Spiritual jurisdiction was wholly at an end, and the ecclesiastical ordinaries were prevented from holding 'the sacred synods by means of which the evils and iniquities that have been handed down from antiquity can be punished.' Many secular rulers would not allow such synods to be held in their territories.

Considering that the clergy had always shown submissive obedience to the Emperor and to his predecessors, and were ready to yield him further loyal service, the petitioners prayed that the Emperor would protect them from complete annihilation, and would enjoin the ruling authorities, on peril of outlawry, to cease their oppression, to restore the confiscated Church property, and to abstain from further

violation of clerical privileges and revenues. As executors of this mandate the envoys were to propose to the Emperor the Electors of Cologne, Treves, and the Palatinate, the Margrave Joachim of Brandenburg, Archduke Ferdinand, Dukes William and Louis of Bavaria, Duke George of Saxony, and the Duke of Cleves. They were also to submit most humbly to his Imperial Majesty that he would try to influence the Pope to abolish the excessive privileges of the four mendicant orders, and to place these orders under episcopal jurisdiction. For it was undeniable that 'the origin and beginning of the revolutionary heretical doctrines lay in the "excessive and inordinate privileges" with which the mendicant friars were endowed by Rome.' Exempt from all ordinary jurisdiction and authority, subject to nobody, these monks, said the petitioners, considered themselves 'free to live as they liked, and to preach, act, and behave according to their own will and pleasure.'

This 'Rathschlag' did not remain a secret. Luther obtained a copy of it, and forthwith, on the advice of Philip of Hesse, published a pamphlet in which he said that 'this "Rathschlag" had been drawn up by the idolatrous rabble of Mayence priests, at the instigation of Satan, with the object of vilifying the Gospel, of incensing the princes of Germany against each other, and of deluging the land with blood.' 'This treacherous "Rathschlag,"' he said, 'makes it patent to everybody that it would not trouble its authors in the least if no prince or lord were left in Germany, and if the whole land were swimming in blood, provided they could carry on their tyranny and their godless, disgraceful mode of life.' But this is just like all the

papists. No one can be a papist without being at the same time a murderer, a robber, and a persecutor. 'Thus then the fruits of their religion are murder, incendiarism, and persecution, and so in my opinion it's plain enough that the followers of it are the devil's Christians.' They might denounce his teaching as heresy, they might call his life scandalous, but 'just as our heretical doctrine in one point is better than all the best of their doctrine, so our life, even when reeking most of sin, is better than all their sanctity, which is nothing but empty balsam.' 'Idolaters and masqueraders at Worms' had got round the Emperor, who understood nothing of these matters, and made use of him for their own wanton purposes; none but 'a plotting crew of priests and bishops' had condemned his (Luther's) doctrine. But the chastisement of God was at hand. The peasant insurrection was merely a beginning of this chastisement. 'God is just and righteous, and will in His own good time so justify His ways that neither priests nor priests' menials will be left alive. Such is my prophecy.'[1]

'I do not doubt,' wrote Archduke Ferdinand to the Emperor at the beginning of the year 1526, 'that you have been made acquainted with the condition of Germany, and also of that accursed Lutheran sect which is so iniquitous that I know not how to describe it.' He begged that the Emperor would return to Germany as soon as possible, or else 'everything would be plunged in ruin and disaster.'

Meanwhile the Treaty of Madrid had been concluded, and the Emperor informed all the Estates of the Empire by a despatch from Toledo, dated

[1] *Collected Works*, lxv. 23–46. See note V., Appendix.

February 5, 1526, that it was his intention to leave Spain on June 24, to go to Rome to receive the imperial crown, and then to come to Germany and do all he could to ensure the maintenance of the Christian religion and the holy faith, and the welfare of the Empire. He wrote also to his brother Ferdinand on March 26 concerning the journey to Rome, which was fixed for St. John the Baptist's day. He had renewed the charter of the impending Diet of Spires, and had inserted therein a clause to the effect that at this assembly no innovations or alterations of any sort were to be attempted in matters of religion; for he did not intend in the slightest degree to deviate from the obedience he owed to the Church; nor would he suffer the German nation to set a bad example to other Christian nations by inflicting injuries on the old faith. To Duke Henry of Brunswick, who had come to him about the Lutheran question, he had given the following instructions: 'To strengthen and confirm the adherents of the old faith in their opinions, and to bring back the renegades to the right path.' This, he hoped, would have the desired effect.[1]

In this despatch the Emperor expressed his thanks to the Archbishops of Cologne and Bremen, the Bishops of Münster and Minden, the Margrave Joachim of Brandenburg, the Dukes of Brunswick and Lüneburg, of Pomerania, of Mecklenburg, and of Jülich-Cleves-Berg, for the steadfastness with which they had hitherto clung to their old faith. He promised that as soon as he came to Germany he would, 'with the co-operation and good counsel of all the Imperial Estates,' take measures for re-establishing

[1] Bradford, pp. 240–242; Bucholtz, ii. 369.

the unity of the faith and of the Empire, and for extirpating those unchristian dangerous doctrines and heresies of Luther's whence so much slaughter, blasphemy, and disturbance had arisen. With brotherly solicitude he implored and entreated the princes not to allow themselves to be drawn away by the Lutherans to embrace their heresies. If, however, 'the Lutherans should set about trying to gain them over to their doctrines by cunning or by violence, or by stirring up revolt among their subjects, as, alas! had happened before,' the princes would then be justified 'in banding firmly together and resisting them in earnest,' and the Emperor 'would in such a case, if necessary, support them with help, encouragement, and approval.'[1]

A similar despatch was addressed to Bishop William of Strassburg, to be by him sent round to the Archbishop of Salzburg, the Bishops of Würzburg, Bamberg, Augsburg, Worms, Spires, Freising, Constance, and Eichstätt, and the Wittelsbach princes, 'besides all others in the Upper Circle' who are not adherents of the Lutheran doctrine.'[2]

Thus, while the orthodox princes, the Emperor, and his brother regarded the restoration of uniformity in religion and the maintenance of a century-old Church organisation as the best means for restoring peace and tranquillity in the Empire, the princes and towns of the new faith had banded together in leagues for the maintenance and promulgation of what they designated by the name of 'Gospel.'

[1] From Seville, March 23, 1520, Neudecker's *Urkunden aus der Reformationszeit*, pp. 10–14.

[2] Rommel's *Urkundenbuch*, pp. 13–17.

At an interview at Gotha towards the end of February 1526 the Elector John of Saxony and the Landgrave Philip of Hesse formed a first alliance for mutual defence with 'person and property, land and people, and all they possessed,' in case the clergy and their partisans, in defence of their iniquitous abuses, should attempt any proceedings against them (the confederates) on account of the preaching of the Divine Word and the measures taken in their principalities, territories, and lordships to put down the said abuses.

The 'measures taken' and yet to be taken in their territories were nothing less than the arbitrary and violent suppression of the Catholic Church service, the overthrow of the whole existing Church system, and the confiscation of Church property. Every check on such proceedings was looked on by the princes as unlawful aggression.

The efforts of the Landgrave to draw other Estates into the confederacy were fruitless. The magistrate of Nuremberg, who, through his delegate at the Augsburg Diet, had declared himself ready to make common cause with Philip, now found it 'difficult, before the actual meeting of the Diet,' to pledge himself to any decided course of action or to any alliance.[1] Frankfort-on-the-Main also rejected the Landgrave's proposal, and the Palatine Elector Louis thought it better to wait till the meeting of the Diet to enlarge the league.[2] The Elector of Saxony, on the other hand, was successful in his canvassing at a Diet at Magdeburg; the Dukes Philip of Brunswick-Grubenhagen, Ernest and Francis of Brunswick-Lüneburg,

[1] Ranke, vi. 129. [2] *Ibid.* ii. 248, note 2.

Duke Henry of Mecklenburg, Prince Wolfgang von Anhalt, and Count Albert von Mansfeld joined the Saxo-Hessian league 'for the promotion and spread of the Gospel and all that was connected with it.' Even the town of Magdeburg, although by no means a free imperial city, but subject to the Archbishop Albert of Brandenburg, 'at its own humble request and entreaty was received into the "Christian union."'[1] All these 'Gospel associates' intended to appear at the Diet at Spires as a unanimous body.

[1] Ranke, vi. 129. On September 29 Albert of Prussia, if not by express declaration, did as a matter of fact join the Torgau league, at the same time concluding an offensive and defensive alliance with the Elector John Frederic. See Tschackert's *Urkundenbuch*, i. 149, ii. 175.

CHAPTER III

THE DIET OF SPIRES, 1526

In the instructions of the Emperor, communicated to the Estates by his plenipotentiaries (chief of whom was King Ferdinand) at the opening of the Diet on June 25, it was stated that 'no alterations or decisions in religious matters were to be proposed or carried at the Diet.' All traditional Christian usages and ceremonies were to continue unchanged until the meeting of a general council. At such a council (with regard to the convocation of which the Emperor intended immediately to confer with the Pope at Rome) all the affairs and grievances connected with the Christian faith were to be discussed, all the heresies, abuses, and irregularities which had sprung up in so many places, 'but, alas! most seriously and dangerously in the Holy Empire of the German nation,' were to be removed, and in their place a uniform Christian organisation was to be established. As, however, a considerable period of time would still intervene before the holding of the council, the members must not sit idle in the meantime; 'for fresh accursed and heterodox innovations were daily gaining more and more ground, and were being preached abroad to the detriment of the common people; countless new pamphlets, full of scandalous depreciation of all ruling authorities, were serving to

undermine the true faith and to stir up insurrection. The Estates must therefore consult with the plenipotentiaries as to the best ways and means of counteracting this pernicious state of things, and punishing the perpetrators of the iniquities. All the revolts that had hitherto taken place were principally due to the religious schism, and still worse ones were to be feared if remedial measures were not adopted.

The following reply to this article of the imperial charge was agreed to by the majority of the electors and princes: 'The Emperor had shown wise and Christian judgment in forbidding any "resolution, innovation, or declaration" to be made in matters of the holy faith; for such matters were not the exclusive business of the German nation, but concerned other Christian powers also, and must be dealt with at an œcumenical council. They were also in full agreement with the Emperor concerning the entire preservation of traditional Christian usages and ceremonies. With regard to the redress and abolition of abuses, they were ready to confer with the other Estates, and to carry out in their dominions whatever regulations were agreed upon "in order that the honour and glory of God might be upheld, obedience rendered to the Emperor, and the peace and unity of the Empire be restored."[1] The Emperor was quite right, said a further Memorandum of the electors, in attributing the late insurrections chiefly to the schism in the faith. It seemed to them, therefore, advisable, for the maintenance of peace and unity, that the disaffected and rebellious subjects, both of the higher and lower Estates, should first be

[1] In the Frankfort *Reichstagsacten*, 42, fol. 12; in Friedensburg's *Reichstag zu Speyer*, pp. 534-538.

admonished and requested, in a friendly and gracious manner, to abstain from further contumely, at any rate till the meeting of the general council, or till the arrival of the Emperor, and to come to an agreement with the remaining princes and Estates to act and behave obediently to the will and opinions of the Emperor. If any of them stood in fear of the Emperor's displeasure on account of their disobedience, the electors, princes, and notables would endeavour by suitable means to avert this displeasure. Further the electors were of opinion, as was indeed the truth, that this schism in the faith and this disobedience had been principally caused by want of intelligence in the preachers. For as formerly the clergy had made the road to the kingdom of God too strait and narrow, so the modern teachers had made it too easy and wide, and consequently many good Christian ordinances and customs had fallen into disuse or contempt, and Christian believers had been led into error.' If the resolutions passed by the Estates at the Diet of Nuremberg in 1523, and openly published in the imperial mandate, had been carried out, this breach would undoubtedly not have grown so wide.[1] 'It would be well, even now, to enforce these resolutions, if the imperial commissioners and the Estates had no better measures to propose; and above all to carry out the orders against "revolutionary writing and poetising, and against the printing, selling, and hawking of calumnious literature and other forbidden books," which had quite as much to do with the present religious dissension as the new preachers had.'[2]

An entirely different line was taken by the majority

[1] See our statements, vol. ii. pp. 293–296 (*Engl. Transl.* pp. 327–331).
[2] See Bucholtz, iii. 601–602.

of the town delegates—most of them Roman jurists—who were present at the Diet.

In their answer to the memorandum of the electors and princes which was presented to them on June 30 they demanded the immediate abolition of 'all those Christian ordinances and customs' which in their opinion 'were contrary to the religion of Christ and His word.' This matter could not be deferred for the decision of the council, because 'in the meanwhile Christian believers would be continuing in error, to the peril of their souls.'

On August 1 they handed in to the Estates of the Empire gravamina against the clergy.

The 'grievances of the German nation' against the clergy and against the deplorable scandals in the outward life of the Church had been repeatedly urged in most serious language at former Diets; on the last occasions at the Nuremberg Diets of 1523 and 1524. All these complaints related solely to real or alleged abuses in the exercise of spiritual authority, to increased taxation by the Curia of Rome, to sentences of excommunication in disputes about *meum* and *tuum*, to the immunity of clerical personages, to the encroachments of the clergy on secular ground, to dispensations, indulgences, reserved cases, and other papal regulations. Not one of the complaints was directed against the divine origin and nature of the Church, against the dogmas of the faith, the ecclesiastical system and jurisdiction, or even against the existing forms of worship.[1]

The present petition, however, was of an entirely different character, as was evident from the first clause, which related to the Mendicant Friars. These monks,

[1] See our statements, ii. 293–294, 354 (*Engl. Transl.*)

it was said, deprived the married poor in the towns of the alms that were due to them, and further, 'as had been credibly reported in many places,' robbed the nunneries incorporated with their Order of large sums of money. For this cause 'these same Mendicant Friars' ought to be left to die out; and not their Order only, but many other monasteries and convents should be done away with and their revenues appropriated for the common good. For the prevention of immorality among the clergy priests should be allowed to marry. In view of past abuses the secular authorities and magistrates should be empowered to depose and remove unfit pastors, preachers, and other Church officials. The management and revenues of the hospitals must be taken away from the clergy and placed in the hands of rulers and magistrates. The secular powers should also be authorised to take action with regard to forbidden articles of food, and to make alterations in the festival days, 'according as the convenience and necessity of each different place required.' Still more comprehensive was the stipulation that with regard to the 'Ceremonies'—that is to say, the Holy Mass especially—each individual was to be free to act as he pleased until a free, Christian, impartial council had pronounced a decision 'in accordance with the Divine Word.' Pending such a council every preacher in every place should be left free and unhindered to preach the 'Evangel,' unless any of them 'should set about to promote rebellion and to stir up subjects against the ruling authorities.' Some of the delegates went so far as to propose that all other books should be burnt and the 'Evangel' alone preached; but this proposal was rejected.[1]

[1] V. L. a. Seckendorf, *Commentarius historicus et apologeticus de*

Clearly, then, the petition in many of its demands aimed at a complete remodelling of the existing Church system, and the transfer of purely spiritual matters to secular authority.

The presentation of these gravamina on August 1, and the appointment on the same day of a large committee of the Estates for discussion of the transactions of the Diet, moved the plenipotentiaries to draw up a fresh statement on August 2. In this document it was said that in order that the Estates might not take any action in matters of religion which was contrary to the will of the Emperor and unauthorised by the imperial 'instructions,' they purposed putting down word for word the clause of the 'instructions' relating to this point. It ran as follows: They were not to set in hand, transact, alter, or determine on anything which was contrary to and calculated to upset 'the Christian faith or the commendable laws and ancient traditions of Church doctrine, ordinances, ceremonies, and customs.' On the contrary, so the Emperor enjoined, they were rather 'to do all in their power to maintain and administer the above in their principalities and territories, in accordance with the mandates issued, with their counsel, knowledge, and consent, at the Diets of Worms and Nuremberg.' Only an œcumenical council could deal wisely and profitably with the difficult and weighty questions of the faith, or plan and carry out a healthy, Christian, and adequate scheme of reformation. Local and sectarian action in these matters 'would only result in multiplying and increasing error and disobedience, and in confirming the poor simple people in their

Lutheranismo sive de reformatione religionis ductu D. Martini Lutheri . . . recepta et stabilitata, ii. 45.

contumely and presumption rather than in enlightening and pacifying them.'

To this statement the electors and princes replied on the same day that when the religious question came on for debate they would act in accordance with their responsibility to Almighty God, to the Emperor, and to all the Estates.

The answer of the towns on August 4 showed plainly what manner of profit the new religionists were seeking to draw from the war that had broken out between the Pope and the Emperor. The enforcement of the earlier commands of the Emperor, said the delegates from numbers of the South German towns, was an impossibility; the imperial charge of March 23 had been issued at a time when the Emperor and the Pope were still on friendly terms. Now, however, the whole of the papal troops were encamped against the Emperor; it was, therefore, impossible to form any idea as to when an œcumenical council was likely to be convoked. It would be well to inform the Emperor, by means of a deputation, of the state of things in Germany, and to beg of him that, 'for the prevention of all further discord, tumult, and insurrection, he would convene a provincial council or an assembly of the German nation; or, in case this should not be agreeable to him, that he would postpone the execution of the Worms mandate until the meeting of a future general council.'

The princes on their side appointed a committee 'for the preservation of Christian usages and ceremonies and the removal of abuses;' the members chosen were the Bishops of Würzburg, Strassburg, and Freising, and George Truchsess, to represent the clerical

interests, and the Princes of the Palatinate, Hesse, and Baden, and the Count of Solms for the secular interests.[1]

This 'Committee of Eight' drew up a list of stipulations which were in substance as follows: I. The seven sacraments and the Holy Mass must be preserved, but all fees for receiving sacraments, and all mercenary traffic with the Mass, must be put a stop to. With regard to the Holy Communion, 'it should be left free to individual wills and consciences to receive it either in one or both kinds, and the sanction of the Pope should be procured for toleration on this point until the next general council.' II. 'With regard to the marriage of priests,' they considered it 'better that they should be allowed to marry than that so many of the clergy, by reason of their vows of celibacy, should be in danger of their souls' damnation.' III. The preachers were to expound the Gospel according to the true interpretation accepted by the general Christian Church. In the consecration of priests regard should be had to age, experience, and morality; for negligence in this respect was not the least cause of the present dissension and heresy. There must be an official visitation in all parsonages at least once a year. With regard to festivals, all the old feast days, the feasts of the Virgin Mary and of the principal saints must be retained. Also the forty days' fast, the vigils, and Fridays and Saturdays were to be observed; but fasting was not to be made binding under grievous sin.

All these and other statements in the list were to be brought to the notice of the Emperor, and his decision awaited.[2]

[1] Ranke, ii. 252.

[2] Höfler, *Charitas Pirkheimer*, pp. liv–lvi; Von der Lith, p. 170.

The remarks made by Duke George of Saxony in an autograph despatch to his ambassador, on hearing of the appointment of this 'Committee of Eight,' struck at the core of the matter. The worst of all the evils from which the Church suffered, he said, originated with the laity, and was especially due to the machinations of the secular princes, who had always been uninterruptedly active in their endeavours to use the highest ecclesiastical posts and dignities, and the goods of the Church, for their own benefit.

'We find,' said the Duke, 'that there is much talk about many abuses; but of the worst of these, by which the whole world is most grievously injured, and which belong to the highest as well as to the lowest classes, not a word is said. It is as clear as daylight that the origin of all this heresy, with which God is visiting us, lies in the way in which the prelates enter into the Church; for God says, "He that entereth not in at the door is not the shepherd." Now it is, alas! not the least scandal of Christendom that we laymen, both of high and low degree, do not give heed to these words. For when we appoint our own children, brothers, and friends to bishoprics, and other Church dignities, we are not in the least concerned about the "door," but think only how we can manage to push our own people in, whether under the threshold or in through the roof we do not care. These gentlemen, moreover, who get in in this manner, behave as if they had purchased their benefices for their own possessions, and had full rights in them. Hence it follows that the sheep imitate the shepherds, and thus incur the wrath of God, as, alas! is seen day after day.'

'Moreover we laymen, who have by God's ordinance

been placed in power, are so grasping (God grant it may not be so with the clergy also!) that when we have the property of cloisters and other religious foundations under our rule we are inflamed with covetousness after these lands, so that oftentimes we think more about how to get them into our own possession, and to exalt our condition, than we are solicitous of providing that an orderly Christian life and government shall be established and carried on in them. This love of possession has in the present times led to the ruin of many a Christian community, whose revenues have gone to swell the incomes of the ruling powers. Therein we have been unmindful of the love of God and of our neighbours, and have not cared at all whether our neighbours came to perdition so long as we could keep up our own magnificence.'

Of these abuses there was no mention at Spires, neither were any complaints brought forward there about 'the escaped monks and nuns who, forgetful of their honour and their vows before God and man, had become faithless and perjured, and had given themselves up openly to the lusts of the flesh.' 'With regard to the clergy who took unto themselves wives, and to the monks and nuns who left their cloisters, the punishment must remain in the hands of the clergy (because in the common secular law no penalty for such offences was mentioned), and the offenders must be made to forfeit their privileges, liberties, benefices, and so forth. The ordinaries must not in any way be hindered by the secular authorities in the enforcement of such penalties, but, on the contrary, these should afford them help and support in the discharge of this duty for the protection of spiritual authority.'

The committee appointed on August 1, and consisting of twelve secular and nine clerical members, presented to the Estates on August 18 'a "Rathschlag" concerning abuses and grievances on behalf of the subjects.' This document recapitulated all the complaints brought forward at earlier Diets concerning annates and other exactions of the Roman Court, abuses in the issue of indulgences, the necessary abolition of exemptions of prelates and cloisters, anomalies in the clerical courts of justice, and so forth. But the old faith was in no way assailed. With regard to the doctrine of good works, it said the confessors must exhort their penitents 'to steadfast faith and true trust and hope in God alone, and to the zealous practice of what is the inevitable fruit of genuine faith—namely, good works. They must admonish them to the virtues of love, humility, plentiful almsgiving, patience, truth, upright dealing, diligent, devout prayer and worship, and avoidance of sensuality and all superstition.' They must impress both on subjects and rulers their relative duties towards each other. After the declaration of repentance has been heard absolution must be pronounced and penance imposed, 'with the admonition that each one, without intermission, should be diligent in good works that are well pleasing to God.' The hospitals, the 'Rathschlag' went on to say, must be for the use of the poor only. On all these points the spiritual and secular members of the committee were in full agreement.

Had the transactions been confined to the abolition of abuses, matters would not have come to a schism.

In another 'Rathschlag' drawn up by the committee it was proposed by the majority, with reference to the

Lutheran business, that there should be a repetition of the edict of Worms, with somewhat harsher additions. The town delegates, however, protested that their friends would never agree to such a measure; 'the Emperor was not lord over their souls and consciences, but Christ alone, who had bought them all with His blood and sanctified and redeemed them. At the same time Luther's person, doctrine, or sect did not concern them at all, and it was by no means their object to defend them, but only to cling fast to the Word of God, into which as Christian people they had been baptised, and by the help of God to remain faithful to that Word down to their graves.'[1]

The 'Word of God,' here as always throughout the period of religious disturbances, stood for the opposite of the Church. But it never seemed to be thought necessary to bring forth evidence to *prove* that the faith of the Church was in opposition to faith in the sole redeeming merits of Christ.

The towns resolved to use the Turkish danger as a means for securing all that they had stipulated in their petition of August 1. The news that came pouring into Spires of the devastations of the Turks in Hungary grew 'worse and worse as regarded the Empire.' The Emperor had called for an '*eilende Hülfe*' (hasty succour). An appeal of this sort, wrote the Frankfort delegates to the council on July 9, could not be disregarded by the Estates, for the Turks, according to report, were encamped in Hungary with an army of 200,000 men. But when the majority of the electors

[1] See Farel's letter to Nicholas d'Esch, October 16, 1526, in Herminjard's *Correspondance des Réformateurs dans les Pays de Langue Française*, v. 402.

and princes agreed that 'at any rate the help that had previously been promised the Emperor for the Roman expedition might be used for the Turkish campaign,' the town delegates refused to consent to any proposal 'until the towns had been reassured with regard to the holy faith, and the oppression of the clergy removed from them.'

The towns were backed up by the princes who had become followers of the new Gospel.

Grown strong and self-reliant through their secret alliances, these princes stood up with boldness and decision against the Catholic Estates. 'Before all the world' it had become manifest that they no longer belonged to the old faith; 'for they no longer attended the Holy Mass, they kept no fast days, and observed no differences in food.' The Landgrave Philip of Hesse, on his arrival on Thursday night, wrote the Ratisbon delegate on July 20, 'had had an ox publicly slaughtered in front of his hostel, and had dined off it in public on Friday.'[1] 'The Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse had brought with them their own preachers, who were holding forth in the inns to large assemblies of the people. Both princes were making a grand State display. Philip had ridden into the town with 200 horses, the Elector with 400. The latter entertained daily at dinner, writes Spalatin, '700 persons, and has indeed treated us right royally.' At an enormous banquet the Elector once entertained twenty-six princes, together with their councillors and nobles. 'At this banquet,' says Spalatin, 'several

[1] K. Th. Gemeiner's *Geschichte der Reformation in Regensburg*, p. 46, note 42.

princes went on gambling till 10 o'clock at night, and some of them lost as much as 3,000 florins.'[1]

Saxony and Hesse endeavoured to strengthen their position by contracting fresh alliances during the sitting of the Diet. The Elector had already made advances to Duke Albert of Prussia, against whom a heavy reckoning was in store from the Estates on account of his forcible appropriation of the territory of the Teutonic knights, and had promised him, in case of his being harassed on account of the 'Evangel,' that he would range himself on his side like a man and form an alliance with him. On July 5 the Duke declared himself ready to help the Elector with 100 armed horsemen in case of an attack being made on him from any quarter whatever. In return for this promise he demanded an equal number of troops for himself. Before the formal conclusion of the treaty he wished for another interview at Breslau.[2] On a joint appeal from Saxony and Hesse to the delegates of Strassburg, Augsburg, Nuremberg, Ulm, and Frankfort to come to 'a secret understanding' for the defence of the Gospel, the first four towns instructed their delegates not to reject the proposal of the princes, but to keep up a show of loyalty until the return of the deputation to be sent by the Estates to the Emperor.[3]

[1] *Spalatini Chronicon*, pp. 660, 661; concerning other banquets see Friedensburg, pp. 322, 455. 'Spirae comitia sunt more solito Germanis comitia celebrandi,' wrote Luther to Link on August 28, 1526; 'potatur et luditur, praeterea nihil' (De Wette, iii. 126).

[2] Ranke, vi. 131.

[3] Letters of the Frankfort delegates of August 21 and 25, 1526, in the *Reichstagsacten*, 41, ff. 51, 55. Concerning the question of the treaty see Capito's letter to Zwinglius, July 24, 1526, in *Zuinglii Opp.* vii. 529. For fuller details about the transactions, especially with Nuremberg, see Friedensburg's *Reichstag zu Speier*, pp. 309–314, 457–458.

Philip of Hesse behaved with the utmost audacity. 'He stands by God,' says a popular song of the period, and fears 'neither the devil nor the Pope, nor the Emperor's ban.' Philip moreover was nursing fresh schemes on behalf of the imperial outlaw Ulrich von Würtemberg, who was himself at the moment engaged in negotiations with the different Estates for his restoration to his duchy. 'My friend,' said the Landgrave to the delegate from Ulm, 'if we could only manage to reinstate him, it would be of the greatest advantage to the "Gospel."'

The bitterness of feeling among the notables with regard to the religious question increased from one session to another. The ecclesiastical princes were a prey to the fiercest assaults. 'It is said,' wrote Spalatin, 'that at no former Diet has there ever been such free, fearless, insolent talk against the Pope, the Bishops, and other ecclesiastics, as at this one.'[1] At the general committee, when the members began quarrelling, Saxony and Hesse suddenly broke up the proceedings and ordered their suite to make ready for departure.[2]

It was to be feared that the Estates would dissolve the meeting without a Recess, and without either settling the question of imperial supplies for defence against the 'slaughtering, ravaging Turks close on the borders of the Empire,' or agreeing as to money contributions for the maintenance of the imperial government and the Supreme Court of Justice.

[1] *Spalatini Chron.* p. 659.

[2] F. B. v. Bucholtz's *Geschichte der Regierung Ferdinand I.* ii. 273-374. On August 21 Philip of Hesse 'hurried away secretly by night, with very few horses'; on August 25 the Electors of the Palatinate and of Saxony went off to Heidelberg to enjoy the pleasures of the chase (Friedensburg, pp. 460, 461). Stoy (*Bundnissbestrebungen*, 105) shows that the affairs of the outlaw Ulrich of Würtemberg, Philip's friend, had something to do with this sudden secret departure.

'In this situation,' and with a view to securing the required military and pecuniary contributions by a vote of the Diet, Archduke Ferdinand, as imperial Stattholder and plenipotentiary, gave his assent to an article in the Recess of August 27 which lent itself to an elastic interpretation of the penal edict of Worms against Luther and his followers.

In the clause of this Recess which related to religion, to the 'ceremonies,' and to traditional usages, it was stated that, 'according to imperial instructions, no fresh innovations or resolutions were to be proposed.' In order to heal the breach in the Christian religion, and to restore peace and unity among the Estates, it was considered advisable that within a year, or a year and a half at latest, a free general council should be held, or, failing this, a German national council. With respect to the edict issued by the Emperor at Worms, the Estates had unanimously agreed that 'until the meeting of the council they would live, act, and rule their subjects in such wise as each one thought right before God and his Imperial Majesty.'

'Whereas in many places,' says a further clause, 'tithes, rents, and dues have been withheld from the clergy and the laity, and whereas nobody is justified in robbing another of his rights, every ruling authority must faithfully protect the clergy and the laity against violence and injustice, in order that until the meeting of the proposed council peace, unity, and justice may be maintained between the clergy and the laity, and neither the one nor the other may have cause to complain of undue oppression or encroachment.' [1]

[1] *Neue Sammlung der Reichsabschiede* (New Collection of Recesses),

The mere text of this Recess, apart from the fact that it was never confirmed by the Emperor, leaves no room for the meanings later on read into it, according to which it gave legal recognition to Territorial Churches, and justified the suppression of the Catholic Church service, the abolition of episcopal jurisdiction, and the confiscation of Catholic foundations and Church property. By appealing to a future council the Recess presupposed not the abolition, but, on the contrary, the recognition, of clerical jurisdiction.[1]

The new-religionist Estates themselves did not at first consider that the Recess contained the stipulations later on assigned to it. When, for instance, the Bishop of Würzburg, in a despatch to the evangelical magistrates at Heilbronn on September 24, 1526, pleaded that nothing had been resolved at Spires that was prejudicial to or destructive of his jurisdiction, the magistrates answered on October 2: 'It was true it had been expected that a decision on this and other matters would be made at the Diet of Spires, but unfortunately this had not happened.'[2]

This later interpretation of the Recess was also negatived by a statement of the Margrave Casimir of Brandenburg, who had worked harder than any of the other plenipotentiaries at Spires to secure Ferdinand's vote for the article relating to the Worms edict.[3] 'If he were to attempt to deprive the bishops of their

ii. 273–275, §§ 1–4, 11. At the Nuremberg Diet of 1524 it was resolved with regard to the edict of Worms that the Estates would abide by it as much as was possible to them. Now it was said, 'As each one held right before God,' &c. Herein lies the whole difference.

[1] See Appendix, note VI.

[2] C. Jäger's *Mittheilungen zur schwäbischen und fränkischen Reformationsgeschichte*, i. 64.

[3] Von der Lith, p. 172.

jurisdiction,' he said in a private letter to his brother, the Margrave George, 'he would be accused of having acted in opposition to the Recess.'[1]

Even in Luther's opinion the Recess did not contain the meaning later on attributed to it. When Luther, on November 22, 1526, at the time of the complete disruption of Church matters in Saxony, wrote that famous letter to the Elector John by which he laid the foundation-stone of the territorial Church of Saxony, he did not appeal to the Recess of Spires, as if that document contained any positive legal warrant for the transfer of ecclesiastical matters to secular jurisdiction.

It was not till three years later that Luther, by a method of reasoning peculiar to himself, drew from this Recess the conclusion that 'it had been unanimously resolved at Spires that each individual should and might believe whatever he held right before God and his Imperial Majesty.' In the territories of the new religionists, however, each one was not allowed to believe 'how and what he liked;' but the princes and the town magistrates suppressed the Catholic religion, punished the exercise of it, and compelled the subjects to accept the new Gospel or to leave the country. Nevertheless in all these measures they were not, in Luther's opinion, acting in opposition to the decision of Spires. The Catholic princes, both spiritual and temporal, who could also, in their enforcement of the penal mandate of Worms, appeal to the Recess of Spires, were regarded by Luther as 'people who had not only set themselves against God's Word and commandments, but had acted as disobedient rebellious

[1] Von der Lith, p. 185.

murderers against the secular authorities and against their own vows.'[1]

The right of the secular authorities to alter the constitution of the Church and to compel the people to adopt the religious innovations had already been *deduced* from the Spires Recess in the year 1526 by the authors of a 'Christian Advice and Instructions for the conduct of all Christian persons, rulers and subjects,' and on the following grounds :—

The article of the Recess which ran, 'Each one is at liberty to behave in such a manner as he thinks right before God and his Imperial Majesty,' related at any rate only to the edict of Worms; but this edict referred to 'religion, and the holy faith, and heresies and abuses,' and must therefore relate also to 'an orderly Christian life, government, and Church system,' in which category were certainly included 'the promulgation of God's Word and the alteration or suppression of any ordinances or customs which were opposed to that Word,' which last tasks it was the bounden duty of all Christian rulers to execute, as it was the duty of all subjects to obey their rulers. Now it was urged by 'the blind, the foolhardy, and the ignorant that the imperial edict was at variance with this conclusion, because it enjoined that "everywhere the old doctrines must be adhered to, the old ways and usages maintained, and nothing new introduced; and that it behoved every obedient loyal member of the Empire, in accordance with Holy Writ, to be submissive to his true and rightful lord, the Emperor, and to obey his commands."' To all which the answer was: 'Certainly the ruling authorities ought to be

[1] *Collected Works*, xxxi. 14–15.

obeyed; nevertheless it was presumptuous, ignorant, and insolent to act as if the pious, benevolent, God-fearing Emperor would issue any commands that were glaringly opposed to God, to the Divine Word, or to the general welfare, and to peace and order.' Accordingly they must not go by the mere words of the edict, but by the meaning of its framer, and nobody had any right to maintain that 'God would appoint over a Christian realm rulers godless enough to compel their subjects to act in defiance of God and their own consciences.'[1]

By such reasoning as this it was to be proved that it was not to the Emperor, but to the territorial lords and to the town magistrates, that obedience in matters of faith was due.

The Spires Recess by no means constituted a positive legal basis for the formation of a fresh Church organisation, but it may certainly be regarded as the point of departure of new territorial churches, the development of which forms the subject of the next chapter.

[1] Hortleder's *Ursachen des deutschen Krieges*, pp. 26–36.

CHAPTER IV

FORMATION OF NEW TERRITORIAL CHURCHES IN PRINCIPALITIES AND URBAN DISTRICTS, AND THE INFLUENCE OF THESE CHURCHES ON THE PEOPLE

THE Landgrave Philip of Hesse took the lead among the princes in carrying into practical action the new interpretation of the Recess of Spires, according to which it gave legal warrant for the establishment of a system of territorial churches.

Already in October 1526 he had convoked a Synod at Homberg in order 'to come to an agreement with his Estates in matters of faith and doctrine.' At his instigation the Frenchman Lambert, a former Minorite, had composed a considerable number of 'Paradoxa' which were to be brought before the Synod as so many proposals, the essence of which was to be embodied in a new scheme for Church organisation. This new organisation would completely have upset the existing one. It required the abolition of the Catholic Church service, the Holy Mass especially, which Lambert denounced as 'a false and carnal sacrifice by anointed and shaven priests.' For the Mass was substituted the Lord's Supper in both kinds.

The Homberg Synod further insisted on the abolition of saints' days, prayer processions, and pilgrimages, and the removal of relics, pictures, and statues,

for the prevention of 'abominable idolatry.' When these proceedings roused opposition among the people, Philip, in October of the following year, 1527, issued a further order to his magistrates 'to remove all pictures from all the parsonages, chapels, and field churches, and not to let them see daylight again.' A similar order was sent to the clergy, with the remark that 'God wished only to be worshipped in spirit and in truth, and had forbidden the making of a single image.'[1] In consequence of this order iconoclastic riots occurred in numbers of churches.[2]

In the year 1524 Philip had assured his mother, who had spoken to him of her anxiety respecting the property of the cloisters, 'that it was by no means his opinion that monks and nuns ought to be deprived of what belonged to them, and that the Gospel did not allow one individual to rob another.'[3] In the year 1526, however, he discovered that such robbery was in accordance with the Gospel, and it was decided at Homberg that the religious duty of abolishing foundations and cloisters, confiscating Church property, and applying it to other objects, must be zealously performed. The monks who refused to be turned out were to be tolerated for a space of time, but only on condition of their declaring themselves ready to attend the preaching of the 'Evangel;' they were most

[1] See Baum's *Lambert von Avignon*, Strasburg, 1840; Hassencamp's *F. Lambert*, Elberfeld, 1860; Stieve's *De Fr. Lamberto Avenion.*, Vratisl., 1867; Buffet's *Biographie de Fr. Lambert*, Paris, 1873.

[2] W. Kolbe's *Die Einführung der Reformation in Marburg*, pp. 50-52; Rommel, ii. 126.

[3] Rommel's *Urkundenland*, ii. The document shows moreover that Philip was already at that time a follower of the new teaching. According to Friedensburg in the *Neues Archiv für sächsische Geschichte*, vi. (1885), fol. 98, Philip was won over to the new religion by Melanchthon.

strictly forbidden to read Mass, to hear confessions, to administer sacraments, and to conduct funerals. Whosoever refused to conform to the new ordinances was condemned to leave the country; the Landgrave's order, says a contemporary report, was 'either to acknowledge Christ or to leave the country.' [1]

All public toleration of the Catholic creed, all freedom of conscience, was disallowed in Hesse, as in all the new-religionist districts.

When on one occasion Duke Henry of Brunswick reproved the Landgrave strongly for the use to which he put the Church revenues, Philip answered in defence that 'no cloister had been confiscated except with the consent of its owners.' But, he added frankly, 'wherever we observed unwillingness we managed to force consent.' [2]

One portion of the Church revenues was devoted to hospitals, and another to founding the University of Marburg, which was to form the principal training school of the new Gospel in Hesse. Every professor installed there was to bind himself on oath 'to admit no innovations, dissension, or sectarianism, or anything that was opposed to the Christian word and faith.' [3]

The lay professors of Marburg were provided with clerical benefices. The humanist Eobanus Hessus, for instance, received at one and the same time the deanery of St. Goar and a living at Rotenburg. Two of the wealthiest and most important monasteries, Kaufungen

[1] '. . . jussit vel Christum confiterentur vel sedibus migrarent,' says Ferrarius concerning the Franciscans at Marburg (Rommel, ii. 143).

[2] G. J. Planck's *Geschichte der Entstehung der Veränderungen und der Bildung unseres protestantischen Lehrbegriffs*, &c. &c., ii. 855, note 28.

[3] Rommel, i. 196.

and Wetter, were made over, with their land, tithes, and revenues, to the knights; the monastery of Arolsen was bestowed by the Landgrave on his godson Count Philip of Waldeck; and the Augustinian nunnery of Weissenstein, near Cassel, was turned by Philip into a country seat.

The Landgrave kept stricter guard than all the other princes of the new religion to prevent Church property from becoming the booty of the rapacious nobles, but notwithstanding his precautions depredations were of frequent occurrence in the lapse of years.

The plan for a new Church system, which was drawn up at Homberg, represented a fully developed synodal organisation. But it never attained realisation.

Before long the Landgrave had usurped to himself the whole authority of the Church, and he exercised it as supreme bishop of the land. In September 1526 Melanchthon had already appealed to him to put a stop to the dissensions among the preachers, and to provide for the teaching of the 'sound doctrine.'[1] Philip appointed inquisitors for the ordination of new preachers, issued Church regulations in his own name, transferred matrimonial cases to his own chancellery, appointed days for confession and fasting, introduced catechisms, and ordered all the clergy of the land to buy the regulation books. As a 'Christian ruler' he declared that by his office he was bound in duty to God to see that the erring sheep were brought back again to the right Gospel pathway and to the truth.[2]

[1] *Corp. Reform.* i. 821.

[2] F. W. Hassencamp's *Hessische Kirchengeschichte im Zeitalter der Reformation*, ii. 528–534. Pastor Ibach of Marburg spoke of the Landgrave Philip of Hesse as 'episcopus noster' (Hassencamp, ii. 535).

With a view to silencing the Catholics, who wanted to preserve their own religion, and who actively opposed all innovations, the Landgrave, in 1528, employed the rector and managers of the Marburg University to publish a pamphlet defending his proceedings.

In this pamphlet Philip was extolled as 'an instrument of God,' and his opponents were denounced as 'godless children of the devil.' It was an 'accursed heresy' for people to say that 'if the cloisters were done away with the poor would not be able to feed and educate their children,' for God feeds the birds of heaven and clothes the flowers of the field. 'Why then should we be so anxious-minded? Why do we give the devil so much place in our hearts, and let him fill us with his wickedness, as if He who has given our children, as well as ourselves, souls and bodies were not able to provide them also with meat and drink?'

'Equally worthless,' so the writers went on, 'was the language of those who insisted that, to avoid scandal and offence, cloisters, pilgrimages, and pictures must not be done away with. When the disciples told the Saviour that the Pharisees were offended at His preaching, Christ had answered: "Every tree that my Father has not planted shall be rooted out; let them alone: they are blind leaders of the blind." And what else can we think now of those who still at the present day, after so long and so much preaching of the truth, are incensed and offended at every Christian proceeding, than that they are either hardened sinners or blind leaders of the blind, and that there is nothing to be done but, according to the teaching of Christ, to "let them alone"?'

With the greeting 'the grace and peace of God our

Father and our Lord Jesus Christ' the Marburg professors, paid out of Church revenues, announced that the clergy hitherto had been only 'wolves in sheep's clothing, bent only on grinding and fleecing the people to the uttermost.' Hence the Landgrave, as a lover of the Gospel, had abolished the cloisters and applied their revenues to the common good. Further, he had done away with the 'abomination of heathen idolatry' and pilgrimages, and, indeed, he had been called to this work as an instrument of God. He had done no more than take away their superfluity from 'the young, the strong, and the well to do, to give it to the poor, so that the simple folk might not have their blood sucked out of them by the usurious rich.' 'What can be more mischievous and injurious than the hellish abominations, the evil courses, the abuses and seduction which the devil has introduced into Christian communities by means of such clergy?' 'Away with the diabolical, iniquitous superstitions and heresies! away with monks and priests, with hoods and cowls, with knaving and shaving!' 'How can love and kindness be shown to neighbours by those who shut themselves up away from them, who repudiate father and mother and think only of their own salvation?' 'Verily the land ought to thank God for the mercy which He has so abundantly shown in raising up this young Christian prince as a chosen instrument, an inspired leader, a second Josias.'[1]

By the Catholic party, however, Philip was by no

[1] Hortleder's *Ursachen des deutschen Krieges*, &c., pp. 1959–1964. 'How the most illustrious Prince Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, as a Christian prince, proceeded with the monks and nuns, the clergy, and the idolatrous pictures in his principality, according to the Holy Scripture.'

means regarded as a chosen instrument of God and a second Josias.

'The Landgrave of Hesse,' wrote the Franciscan monk Nicolaus Herborn, 'has the Word of God constantly on his lips, and declares himself bound by it to turn the Church and the clergy out of all their century-old possessions and rights. He is bent on finding vices among the clergy everywhere, and on punishing them as a Christian avenger. But at the bottom of it all there is nothing but hypocrisy and love of dominion. How can the Word of God, which we all believe in, give us the right to take what belongs to others? Where in the Holy Scriptures is it written that secular authorities are empowered to make and unmake religious dogmas, and to compel the people to accept these dogmas; to compel them also by violence to renounce the faith which has been recognised by their ancestors for centuries past, and through which, by the grace of God, they have obtained salvation for their souls? Is the Prince of Hesse's own life, moreover, so Christian and immaculate that he has a right to condemn every one else? It is known in Hesse and in the whole Rhine district how heavily he oppresses his subjects with taxes and fines, and how he plagues the poor peasants with his hunting and his hunting retinue. What sign is there here of the Christian justice and benevolence that a Christian prince ought to practise? What sign is there of Christian moderation in his perpetual banquets and wild drinking bouts? But, what is worse still, the prince is a by-word throughout his land for his profligate, adulterous life, by which he sets an evil example everywhere, and shows himself scarcely qualified for stamping out vice.'[1]

[1] *Refutatio Hacreticorum*, fol. 5.

All these reproaches from the Franciscan were well grounded. The Landgrave ruled with iron despotism and lived in open and continual profligacy. He himself confessed that he had not been faithful to his wife for three weeks together, and in the course of fifteen years after the change of religion he had been only once to the Lord's Supper.[1] In this very year, 1526, in which he began the Church innovations, he was entertaining the idea of taking a second wife during the lifetime of his first wife.

It is a melancholy account which François Lambert, the influential theological founder of the new Hessian Church system, gives of the effects of this organisation. 'My days are spent in grief and lamentation,' he wrote to the Saxon court preacher, Myconius, 'for I see only the smallest minority making a right use of evangelical freedom; I see that there is very little love and charity abroad, but everywhere, on the contrary, slandering, lying, envy, and hatred.' 'We have destroyed a great deal, but what have we built up again? Who can enumerate all the evils and abuses that meet us at every turn, the enormity of the corruption that arises from false and wicked "Brothers"?'[2]

In the electorate of Saxony, where Luther and his followers had been able to proclaim the 'new Gospel' without hindrance, a complete disruption of all Church organisation had set in.

'The clergy are in a most wretched plight,' wrote Luther to the Elector John exactly eight years after

[1] Philip's letter to Luther, April 5, 1540, in Lenz's *Briefwechsel Philipp's mit Bucer*, i. 361.

[2] See Döllinger's *Reformation*, ii. 18–19.

the publication of his first theses, on October 31, 1525. 'Nobody gives anything in charity; nobody pays anything. Offerings and "soul pennies" are out of fashion. Tithes are never forthcoming, or scarcely ever. The common people care neither for preacher nor for parson, so that, unless your Electoral Highness undertakes a thorough-going reform, before long there will not be a single parsonage, school, or scholar left in the land, and God's Word and service will go to the ground.' He begged that the Elector, as 'a faithful instrument of God,' would look into these matters and have them put on a proper footing.[1]

Even earlier than Luther his friend Nicolaus Hausmann, preacher at Zwickau, had urged Duke John to take active measures in the bishopric of Naumburg, begging him to 'bestir himself energetically' in opposing the imperial mandate, to depose the bishop, and 'consider as to the choice of another,' and to invest Luther with plenary power to hold synods and to inaugurate the proper form of divine service.

On August 10, 1525, the Elector had begun exercising his clerical rights at Weimar by ordering the priests to preach 'the pure Gospel,' and forbidding them henceforth to hold requiems for the dead and to consecrate salt and water.[2] With regard to the pay of the clergy, he demanded, in his answer to Luther's letter, that the burghers and peasants should provide for the maintenance of pastors and preachers either out of the clerical fiefs or from their own possessions. He pronounced himself willing to carry out any plan that Luther would draw up for the maintenance of the clergy.[3]

[1] De Wette, iii. 39. [2] Ranke, ii. 162.

[3] Letter of November 7, 1525, in Burkhardt's *Luther's Briefwechsel*, p. 92.

But Lutheranism had so far made very little general progress, as was shown by an inquisitorial visitation which took place in January 1526, by order of the Elector, in the districts of Borna and Tenneberg. In the district of Tenneberg, which counted twelve parsonages, there was not a single preacher of 'the Gospel' —that is to say, of Luther's doctrine. Only a few parishes here and there wished for any innovations. The inquisitors expressed their desire to the Elector that in future he would appoint and depose all the clergy himself, and recommended him urgently to re-establish all the schools in towns and villages.[1]

The indifference of the people became greater and greater. On November 22 Luther wrote to the Elector: 'The complaints of the clergymen are beyond measure everywhere. The peasants will give nothing more, and there is such ingratitude among the people for the Holy Word of God'—*i.e.* Luther's doctrine—'that without doubt a great plague from God will come upon the country. And if I could do so with a clear conscience I would certainly let them be deprived of all their preachers and pastors and live on like pigs, as they prefer doing. There is no longer any fear of God, or any discipline or morality, now that the papal ban is done away with, and each one does just as he likes. Since, however, we are all of us, and, above all, the rulers of the land, commanded before all things to bring up the poor children in the fear of God and to preserve them in the right way, we must have schools, and preachers, and ministers of the Word. If

[1] One of the many proofs that there were formerly schools in the villages also (Burkhardt, *Sächsische Kirchen- und Schulvisitationen*, pp. 9–14).

the older members of the population do not want these benefits, they may go to the devil if they choose. But when the young are left idle and untaught the rulers are to blame, and the country becomes full of lewd, ruffianly people; so that not only the commands of God but the common necessities of the country require that prompt measures should be taken.'

Then Luther comes to the essential point in his letter. 'Now, however, that all papal and ecclesiastical control is at an end in your Electoral Grace's principality, and all cloisters and foundations have fallen into the hands of your Grace as supreme head of the Church, the duty and responsibility have also devolved on you of setting these things in order; for there is nobody else who either can or will undertake this work. In all cases where the towns or villages have sufficient means your Electoral Highness should compel them to support schools, pulpits, and pastors. If they will not, or care not to do it for their own souls' sake, still your Electoral Highness, as chief guardian of the young and of all the population who need education and spiritual guidance, is bound to force them to the work, just as you would use the force of your authority to compel the making of bridges and roads and other structures necessary for the country.' 'If, however, the communities are too poor and heavily burdened to pay for these institutions, then there are the endowments of the cloisters, which were chiefly intended and should still be used for the benefit of the poor people. For your Electoral Highness can easily imagine that there will be a terrible outcry in the end, and no blame either, if all the schools and pastors are ruined, and the nobles get the revenues of the cloisters for themselves, as some are already doing.

Since then all this property does not go to swell your Highness's revenues, and after all was originally destined for the service of God, it is just that it should be devoted primarily to this purpose. What is left over may be used by your Highness for the needs of the country or for the poor.'[1]

Only two years earlier Luther had given the following instructions to the Elector Frederic, John's predecessor, with reference to Church property: 'We must begin by tearing out the hearts of the cloisters and the clergy. When that is accomplished, and cloisters and churches have been laid waste, let the sovereigns of the land do what they will with them.'[2]

Luther's letter of November 22, 1526, serves as convincing proof that in Saxony there was no real inward inclination or enthusiasm among the people for the new doctrines.

Luther's scheme of inspectoral visitations, by which the new Church system was to be regulated, still hung fire. Once again, on February 3, 1527, Luther pressed urgently on the Elector the needs of the preachers. 'I comfort them all,' he wrote, 'with the prospect of inspectoral visits. But they are weary of waiting, and some of the great people say the scheme will fall through. If this should be the case, it's all up with pastors, schools, and Gospel in this country. For the poor men have not a farthing, and they look like ghosts and skeletons.'[3]

Melanchthon, writing to the Elector on the same subject, said, 'There is, alas! such insolence among the greater number of the preachers that each of them

[1] De Wette, iii. 135–137. [2] *Ibid.* ii. 539. [3] *Ibid.* iii. 160.

will play a new game of his own, whereas in things unnecessary, for peace's sake, the old customs ought to be maintained.'[1]

At last, after long delay, the Elector came to the point of nominating a body of visiting Church inspectors. They were chosen from the ranks both of the clergy and of the laity. The clerical officers were to superintend matters of doctrine, Church organisation, ceremonies, and to inquire into the fitness and characters of the officiating preachers; the laymen were to control the Church and monastic property, taxes, &c., and both together were to superintend the building of schools and parsonages, and to regulate the incomes of the schoolmasters and pastors.

According to the electoral instructions the inspectors were bound to proclaim everywhere that 'God in these latter days had allowed His Divine Word to appear again, and had favoured Saxony before other lands with this grace.' The Elector, however, was discovering by daily experience that this bounty of God was little appreciated by his subjects, seeing that some preferred the existing errors and abuses, and that those who had accepted the 'Gospel' were unwilling to grant adequate subsistence to the preachers and servants of the 'Word.' The inspectors were expected to inquire into the teaching and lives of the clergy, and to depose any pastors who held popish views; but at the same time to provide that either a sum of money was paid them down as compensation or that their income was continued for a year; such pastors, however, who in their preaching the 'Word' spread erroneous teaching concerning baptism and the

[1] *Corp. Reform.* i. 834.

Sacrament of the Altar were to be punished with banishment. No pastor, preacher, or chaplain was 'to presume to teach or to preach, or to administer the Sacrament and ceremonies, in any way differing from the instructions laid down by the ruling prince of the land: any one unable to obey this rule should leave the territory. For the Elector was resolved 'for prevention of mischievous insurrection and other disturbances to tolerate no sectarianism or division' in his land. 'Any person or persons who showed the least sign of attempting to defy the will of the Elector in their preaching or teaching, or in administering the Sacraments, were forthwith to be prosecuted for the transgression.'

The same sort of inquisitorial treatment was to be carried on with respect to the laity. 'Any persons suspected of errors in the faith were to be summoned, questioned, and, if need required, examined before witnesses, and if they refused to abandon their "errors" they were, within a given time, to sell up their possessions and go out of the country.'

By means of this inspectoral system of visitation the Church ritual was to be made as uniform as possible. The people who had hitherto been 'quite unwilling to pay rents and taxes to the "legitimate pastors"'—that is to say, the Lutheran clergy—were to be kept up to doing so by penal measures.[1]

As in the Landgraviate of Hesse so also in Saxony, there was no longer any question of toleration of the Catholics. John Frederic, the successor of the Elector John, sharpened all the prohibitive measures, ordering

[1] A. L. Richter's *Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts*, i. 77–82.

the deposition of 'all papists' and threatening both clergy and laity with banishment as a penalty for 'errors of the faith.' [1]

The code of 'instructions for inspectors of parsonages' was drawn up by Melanchthon, who softened down Luther's uncompromising dogmas on 'justification by faith only and the non-freedom of the human will.' With regard to the Lord's Supper, he enjoined that the people should be taught that 'it was right to partake of both elements;' but 'the weaker brethren who from conscientious scruples (not from stiff-neckedness) could not bring themselves to receive the Communion in both kinds, were to be allowed for a space of time to continue receiving only one element.' With regard to festivals and holy days, they must not all be abolished; besides the festivals of our Lord, the feasts of the Annunciation, the Purification and the Visitation of our Lady, and those of St. John the Baptist, St. Michael, the Twelve Apostles, and Mary Magdalen must also be retained. The preachers must also correct the false notions of the people concerning Christian liberty—as, for instance, that it was not necessary for them to have any rulers or to pay taxes. They must teach them that Christian liberty consists in deliverance from the power of the devil, in freedom from the bondage of rites and ceremonies, and from the law of Moses, and finally in not being unconditionally subject to a human Church organisation.

But the commands of the ruling authorities, Melanchthon taught again as unrelaxingly as ever, must be obeyed by the people with unconditional

[1] Burkhardt's *Sächsische Kirchen- und Schulvisitationen*, pp. 120–121.

submission. Subjects, he said, must be taught to behave submissively even towards stern rulers. 'We must submit to all secular laws and ordinances as to the will and laws of God; for Solomon says, "Wisdom is on the lips of kings"—that is, whatever is ordered and decreed by rulers must be carried out as though it were the commandment of God. Whosoever boasts of the name of Christian must bear all hardships willingly, must give where he owes nothing, and pay though he be taxed unjustly.'[1]

The Elector submitted Melanchthon's 'Instructions' to Luther for criticism, and the latter said 'that it all pleased him greatly, because everything was put before the people in the simplest manner.' 'It does not matter much if the cantankerous mob brags that we are harking back again; it will soon be put to silence.'

The only points in which Luther made any additions related to the instructions concerning the Lord's Supper, and to the habit of abusing the Pope, which Melanchthon had enjoined preachers to desist from. 'The preachers,' he said, 'were to teach the doctrine of both elements boldly and freely to everybody, weak, strong, or stiff-necked, and in no way to justify the receiving of one element;' also 'they were to go on condemning and anathematising the papacy and all its adherents as the accursed of God and the image of the devil and his kingdom.'[2] In the following year, in an exposition of some chapters of the fifth Book of Moses, Luther said: 'We must curse the Pope and his dominion, we must abuse and vilify him; we must not hold our jaws, but continue without ceasing to preach against him. Yes, this must be done; for as soon as

[1] *Corp. Reform.* xxvi. 29–96. [2] *Collected Works*, xxiii. 57.

heresy is forgotten the grace of God is forgotten also and original grace is despised.'[1]

'Many people will consider it a sign of demoniacal possession,' wrote Johann Hoffmeister, Prior of the Augustinian Order at Colmar, 'that Luther should thus persistently enjoin on preachers as a duty to go on cursing and denouncing from the pulpit, while at the same time he himself sees, and has indeed complained bitterly of the fact, that contempt of religion, godlessness, and all manner of vices are gaining ground in Germany in a terrible manner. What will the young especially learn from such cursing and reviling? If even in holy places evil passions are stirred up by the lips of the preachers, what fruit will result from an outward Church service?'

A plan of divine service drawn up by Luther was, by order of the Elector, introduced as the basis of Church worship in Saxony. In this scheme great regard was had to the devotion of the people to the Catholic form of worship, especially the Mass, which they were not willing to renounce. 'The whole world,' wrote Melanchthon, 'is so devoted to the Mass that it seems as if it were scarcely possible to wean mankind from it.'[2] Luther, in contradiction to Philip of Hesse, retained the Mass in his Church ritual as an ordinance established by Christ, and he would not allow 'the Latin language to be in any degree eliminated from the Church service.'[3]

'For the sake of the unlearned laity' he also instituted a German Mass service. This step, however, was not taken on his own initiative, but under external

[1] *Collected Works*, xxxvi. 410. [2] *Corp. Reform.* i. 842, 845, [3] *Collected Works*, xxii. 228.

pressure, especially that of the secular governing authorities. 'The Mass,' he said in a sermon preached on October 14, 1526, 'is the principal outward ceremony that has been instituted for the consolation of true Christians.' Whether the newly established German Mass was well-pleasing to God, he said he did not know, and he added: 'For this reason I have long fought shy of introducing it, for fear of giving an opportunity to the sedition-mongers, who would have rushed in blindfold without considering what was the will of God.'[1]

At this Mass, now celebrated on Sundays only, the service was still performed by priests in sacred vestments, with lighted candles on the altar, and with rites and hymns that differed but very slightly from the old customs.[2] The elevation of the Host and the chalice, Luther insisted, was a practice by all means to be continued, 'because it was in fine harmony with the German "Sanctus," and signified that Christ had commanded to keep Him in remembrance.' Years afterwards it was still a matter of rejoicing to Luther that in all churches he was acquainted with the outward forms and appendages of the Mass—choir, organs, bells, chasubles, and so forth—were still regulated in such a manner that worshippers from foreign parts, who could

[1] *Collected Works*, xiv. 278.

[2] Melanchthon, on July 16, 1528, admonished a preacher at Coburg as follows: 'Quodsi latina missa jam ante est abolita, vide tamen, ut servetur aptus quidam ordo, non dissimilis veteri, ut retineantur vestes usitatae in sacris propter viciniam' (*Corp. Reform.* i. 991–992). In the Saxon inspectorial regulations of 1533 it was minutely laid down how the Mass was to be conducted: In towns and boroughs 'where there are boys' schools and people who understand Latin it may be celebrated in Latin on high festival days, but at all other times in German' (Richter's *Kirchenordnungen*, i. 227 *sq.*).

not perhaps understand the sermons, might yet be able to say, 'This is an orthodox Catholic Church, and the service in it does not differ at all, or but very slightly, from what we are accustomed to at home.'[1]

In the new Mass service, however, Luther insisted that the Canon—the heart and substance, that is to say, of the Roman Mass—was to be omitted. The people were to be kept in ignorance of this change in the service.

'In repeating the Canon and the collects,' he wrote, 'the officiating priests must avoid all words that suggest the idea of a sacrifice. For this is not a matter in which we are free either to retain or to reject at will; this part of the service must and shall be abolished, let who will be incensed against us.' 'It is easy for the priest,' continues his injunction, 'to omit all this without the common people being aware of it, thus avoiding scandal.'

In the manual of the 'German Mass and Church Service' which Luther compiled for the use of the people he made no allusion whatever to his omission of the Canon. In the instructions printed for the Saxon church inspectors it was said, 'In what manner the priests are to act with regard to the Canon they are well informed by other written regulations; it is unnecessary also to preach much on the subject to the laity.'

Thus the people had no means of judging of the depth of the chasm which separated the new from the old form of divine service.[2]

The Saxon inquisitors began their work of visitation and sent in their first report to the Elector in the years

[1] Letters to Chancellor Brück, April 1541; De Wette, v. 338.

[2] See Pastor's *Reunionsbestrebungen*, p. 9 *sq.*

1527–1529. They found the greater number of 'shepherds of souls' 'in evil plight;' even in the electoral circle of Wittenberg a considerable number of parishes were destitute of pastors, and poverty and misery prevailed among the clergy. Tumble-down parsonages and unenclosed churchyards, where the cattle strayed, and even trampled on the corpses, were 'quite the rule.' Ecclesiastical endowments had either expired or been confiscated by the nobles; the glebes and pastures of the Church livings had been bought up by the different parishes, and the sums realised by the sale of monstrances and chalices spent on 'drink money.'

In the district of Wittenberg there were 145 urban and rural parishes, besides hundreds of districts affiliated to them, which had only 21 schools between them. In Meissen and the Voigtland, where the work of inspection began in November 1528, there were only 96 clergymen to 87 parishes with 238 affiliated districts; and over the whole of this area there was scarcely a single school in working condition. In Thuringia, in the year 1529, it was reckoned that there were only 9 schools to 187 parishes. In the Franconian portion of the electorate the condition of things was much more favourable. The schools of the Catholic *régime* 'were still in full swing there, and even in the villages these were sufficiently numerous.'

The clerical office was often filled by quite unsuitable persons. The preacher at Ahorn, for instance, was a linen-weaver, whose whole yearly income amounted to two florins; the preacher at Musel was a former baker's assistant; and at Seitenrode a joiner, who did not even know the Ten Commandments, tried to get appointed to the living. Illicit connections

among the clergy were of frequent occurrence; the preacher at Lucka 'could make a show of three living wives without being divorced from two of them;' at a later inspection a preacher was found who of two sisters had begotten six children; 'many of the preachers were living with women whom they had seduced from their husbands, who were still alive.'

The accounts of the condition of the populace, both in town and country, were not more reassuring. In Hölzdorf and Dubro, the inspectors reported, the people were so wicked and depraved that 'none but hangmen and gaolers would serve to rid the land of them.' In Schönau and Cölpin the peasants would have nothing to do with Church services, and they had been heard to call out to the preachers, 'What is the rascally parson saying about God? Who knows what God is, or whether there is a God? He too must have his beginning and his ending.' At Wercho the peasants could neither say their prayers nor repeat the Commandments and the articles of the Creed; in Zinna they refused to learn the Lord's Prayer 'because it was too long.' At Düben there were often barely three people present at the sermon, and the church was desecrated 'by immoral proceedings and worldly traffic.' At Süptitz and Muckrehna the churches were chosen 'as storehouses for the Whitsuntide ale.' 'Many localities, *e.g.* Untertriebel, had become famous through blasphemy and permanent adultery.' At Neiden the peasants attempted to stone their clergy, and when the latter complained the judge laughed at them.[1]

During the inspectoral visits which he carried on

[1] Burkhardt's *Sächs. Kirchen- und Schulvisitationen*, pp. 27–102; G. L. Schmidt's *Justus Menius*, i. 237.

personally in Thuringia, Melanchthon wrote from Jena in a confidential letter to Justus Jonas, August 28, 1527: 'I believe your eyes are now open to see clearly at Wittenberg what terrible ruin and decay are threatening all that is honest and of good report; how bitter is the hatred of man against man; how great the contempt into which all truth and honour have fallen; how lamentable the ignorance of those who officiate in the churches, and above all how "God-forgetting" the princes have become.' 'I verily think,' he said to the same friend concerning a son who was ill, 'it would be better for him to die than to recover his health, and perchance come to the same miserable plight in which I myself, I know not how, find myself plunged.' 'I am overwhelmed with anxiety beyond description,' he said to Myconius in a letter of lamentation on the inward corruption of the new Church, 'when I meditate on the conditions of these times. None hate the Gospel more bitterly than those very people who wish to be taken for members of our party.'[1] Nowhere did Melanchthon find that there was any attachment among the people to the new doctrines and their promulgators. 'We see,' he lamented in the year 1528, 'how greatly the common people detest us.'[2]

'Those who call themselves evangelical,' wrote Melanchthon's friend Justus Jonas, 'are becoming utterly depraved, and not only is there no longer any fear of God among them, but there is no respect for outward appearances either; they are weary of and disgusted with sermons, they despise their pastors and

[1] *Corp. Reform.* i. 888, 913, 982. See Döllinger's *Reformation*, i. 362–363, 369.

[2] 'Videmus quantopere nos odit vulgus' (*Corp. Reform*, i. 941).

preachers and treat them like the dirt and dust of the streets.' 'And besides all this the common people are becoming utterly shameless, insolent, and ruffianly, as if the Gospel had only been sent to give lewd fellows liberty and scope for the practice of all their vices.'[1]

The condition of things grew worse and worse.

When a second round of inspection was made, seven years after the first, all the inspectors, especially those in the electoral district of Wittenberg, complained of 'the increase in godless living, the prevailing contempt and blasphemy of the Word of God, the complete neglect of the Lord's Supper, the general flippant and irreverent behaviour during divine service.' 'Vices of all descriptions had increased in an extraordinary manner.' 'It was customary to interrupt sermons by open contradiction or loud unseemly behaviour.' At Globig the congregation actually handed round cans full of beer during the church service. And on one occasion when their pastor fell out of his vehicle the peasants broke one of his legs and left him lying helpless in a field.[2]

Luther's complaints of the state of things are appalling. 'The contempt of the populace for the preachers of the Gospel,' he writes, 'is indescribable. Peasants, burghers, and nobles rob the pastors of corn, barley, oats, and whatever they please. The nobles, moreover, treat their pastors as menials and drudges, make use of them as calefactors, stokers, domestic attendants, messengers, and letter-carriers, and take from them the tithes and incomes to which they are entitled for the sustenance of their wives and children—

[1] The 7th chap. of Daniel (Danielis), 1530, Ajjjj.

[2] See note VII., Appendix.

and yet they are all good evangelicals!' 'Things are so abominable and disgraceful everywhere that I have no longer any heart for preaching.' 'There is no more justice anywhere, nothing but brazen wickedness.' 'When the peasants in the villages have to set up fences for their pastors they make a grievance of it and declare that they will compel the minister to look after his own cows and pigs, as other peasants do.' 'Under the rule of the Gospel each one thinks himself at liberty to do as he pleases, and the pastors and preachers are not only despised but ill-treated.'[1] 'Among the nobles also,' he says in the year 1529, in the preface to the greater catechism, 'there are mean, miserly people who give out that there is no longer any need for pastors and preachers; everything is written down in books, and people can learn for themselves, and they leave the parsonages to go to ruin, and both ministers and preachers to die of hunger and want, as becomes the foolish Germans.'[2]

And that all this yearly increasing demoralisation of the people was the outcome of the preaching of 'the Gospel' Luther himself saw clearly and recognised openly.

'This teaching,' he wrote, 'ought to be heard and received with great joy, and it ought to make people better and more pious. But, alas! it is just the other way, and the more this doctrine is preached the more wicked the world becomes; it is all damnable devil's work; we see people everywhere, nowadays, growing more covetous, more pitiless, more dissolute, more wicked and licentious than ever before under the rule of the papacy.'[3]

[1] *Collected Works*, vi. 182-183, 207-208, 325. [2] *Ibid.* xxi. 26-27.
[3] *Ibid.* i. 14, 36, 411.. See note VIII., Appendix.

Luther was filled with still greater anxiety with regard to the young of the land. 'It is the damnable devil who is now making all the young people in the world so dissolute, turbulent, and unmanageable, that they are downright children of Satan.'

All the world wishes to grow fat 'on the spoils of the Church' and to starve out the Gospel. Count and reckon it up on your fingers how much they who enjoy the Evangel give and do for its support: were it not for us who are living now, there might be neither preachers nor hearers. 'Yea, verily, if we had not had alms and endowments in former times from the munificence of our ancestors, the burghers in towns, the nobles and peasants in the country would long ago have altogether destroyed the Gospel, and not a single poor preacher could now be supplied with food and drink. For we will not do it ourselves, but rather appropriate by force what others have given for this object.'[1]

On account of the growing turbulence and immorality of the people Luther, in the year 1527, recommended the reintroduction among the lower orders of a sort of bond-service, such as had existed among the Jews.[2]

Of his own personal experience he spoke as follows: 'I feel it in myself, and others, no doubt, feel the same, that I have far less zeal and enthusiasm—though I need more now than ever—and am much more indifferent and negligent than I was under the papacy; and there exists nowhere in the present day such earnest-mindedness as we used to find among the priests and monks, when so much was built and

[1] *Collected Works*, xiv. 389–390, xxiii. 163–164.

[2] See our statements, vol. ii. pp. 618–619 (*Engl. Transl.* iv. 361, 362).

founded, and when nobody was so poor as to be unable to give something. But now there is not a single town which will support a preacher, and there is nothing but robbing and stealing among the people, and no one can stop it.[1] Nobody will any longer do good works and help the poor.'[2]

The conversion of Saxony to the new religion was followed in 1527 by that of the Duchy of Brunswick-Lüneburg under the auspices of Duke Ernest, a zealous follower of Luther.[3] In the Duchy of Mecklenburg also and in East Friesland and Silesia the new doctrines made great progress.

Thomas Aderpul, who had been appointed preacher at Malchin by Duke Henry of Mecklenburg, after a long period of office finally turned his back upon the town. 'I found, alas!' he wrote, 'that my ministry was producing no good fruits, but only contempt for God, for His Holy Word, and for the Sacraments; the people everywhere are growing more and more covetous, blasphemous, profligate, and dishonest.'[4] 'The people fell into a wretched, ill-fed condition; the funds in which the poor had had a share, no less than the foundations, disappeared, and there was nowhere any blessing.'

In East Friesland Count Enno caused all the treasures from churches and cloisters to be collected

[1] *Collected Works*, xix. 404.

[2] To Spalatin, September 24, 1530; De Wette, v. 24. 'Interim,' he goes on, '*nostra quaerimus usque ad furorem.* Wohlan, *fatum urget mundum.*'

[3] See A. Wrede's *Die Einführung der Reformation im Lüneburgischen*, &c. &c. Göttingen, 1887.

[4] C. Boll's *Geschichte Mecklenburgs, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Culturgeschichte*, i. 255; B. Lesker's *Bilder aus der Kirchengeschichte Mecklenburgs*, p. 99.

together, and he himself appropriated the largest share of them. 'One and all they groped about with thieving hands and profited by the opportunities of the time. The servants of the nobles also did not come off badly; they were engaged in a profitable business.' The Count by degrees gathered in all the cloisters and a goodly share of the revenues and possessions of the Church, so that in course of time a third part of the landed property of East Friesland was in his own hands.

Duke Frederic II. of Liegnitz and Brieg was another active Lutheran, and he instituted a fierce persecution of the Catholics. He introduced the religious innovations in the year 1527 with the announcement that he had adopted the 'Evangel' not for himself alone but also for all his subjects.[1] Later on he published a formula of instruction for the celebration of the sacraments, and entirely suppressed the Catholic Church service, because 'God Almighty had forbidden idolatry and all false worship, and because all manner of evils had sprung up in the country owing to the want of uniformity in the 'Ceremonies.' All subjects, clerical or secular, who were bent on retaining the faith of their fathers were informed, as the people of Hesse and of the electorate of Saxony had been informed, that they had 'permission to leave the land with their goods and chattels.' 'We freely permit and earnestly command them,' says the ducal edict, 'to clear out of our land and to look elsewhere for their improvement.' Furthermore, 'having heard a trustworthy report that the majority of the people were inattentive to the sermons of the preachers, and in the habit of staying away from the

[1] Richter's *Kirchenordnungen*, i. 72–77.

Church services,' the Duke issued a stringent order that 'nobody, under pain of severe punishment, must neglect hearing sermons.' [1]

In the Prussian territory of the Teutonic Knights oppression of the Catholics reached its greatest height.

The Grand Master of the Order, Albert of Brandenburg, while attending the Diet of Nuremberg, where he had gone to solicit help against Poland,[2] had made the acquaintance of the preacher Osiander, and this man, as Albert expressed it, 'had rescued him from the darkness of the papacy and brought him to the knowledge of divine truth.' Luther, whom Albert visited at Wittenberg the following year, advised him, with the concurrence of Melanchthon, to cast aside 'the nonsensical and unnatural' rules of his Order, to get married, and to transform Prussia into an hereditary dukedom.

Albert received this suggestion (which had already been made to him by his brother the Margrave George) with a smile of pleasure.

On July 4, 1524, in a letter to a preacher friend who was labouring in Prussia for the propagation of the new religion, Luther worked out a detailed plan of action for goading on the prince, by means of pressure from the populace and the nobles of the Teutonic Province, to carry out the suggestion made to him at Wittenberg. A powerful and constraining motive would in this way be brought to bear on him to drive him to a course of action for which he was himself

[1] A. L. Richter's *Kirchenordnungen*, i. 72–77.

[2] See Joachim's *Die Politik des letzten Hochmeisters in Preussen, Albrecht von Brandenburg* ('The Policy of Albert von Brandenburg, the last Grand Master in Prussia'). See note IX., Appendix.

eager. There were other spiritual princes, moreover, who would only too readily follow the example he would thus be setting, but who did not like to lead the way. The Bishop of Samland was to conceal his opinions for the present; and when the people had been won over he was to pretend that it was their influence which had brought him round, and then give the undertaking the support of his approval.[1]

The Bishop of Samland, Georg von Polentz, had long had a leaning towards the new Gospel, and Luther had sent one of his disciples to him with a view to inducing Prussia also 'to bid farewell to the kingdom of Satan.'[2]

Another 'zealous labourer for the Evangel' was Erhard von Queis, the former chancellor of Duke Frederic of Liegnitz and bishop designate of Pomesania, who had not yet received papal confirmation. When, in 1524, during a fair at Riesenburg, the populace dragged all the pictures out of the churches, disfigured them shamefully, and finally burnt them, the Bishop condoned the proceedings. Iconoclasm and destruction of cloisters spread through many towns of the diocese; blackguard preachers went about inflaming the passions of the masses.[3]

On January 1, 1525, Bishop Queis issued a 'Programme of Reformation' for his diocese, which was

[1] De Wette, ii. 526–527. See also Klopp's 'Ausführungen' in the *Hist.-polit. Bl.* pp. 121, 332 ff.

[2] De Wette, ii. 474. Concerning Georg von Polentz see Dittrich in the Historical Year-book of the *Görres-Gesellschaft*, vol. x. (1889), pp. 112–116, as opposed to P. Tschackert.

[3] For fuller details see Pastor, *Neue Quellenberichte*, pp. 265–267, 183–184. Concerning Queis see Tschackert, i. 39 ff. At p. 40, note 1, for 'Cardinal Achill de Grossis' read 'de Grassis.'

'as radical as it could possibly be.' 'In the first place' —thus the episcopal charge begins—'you have hitherto observed seven sacraments; the celebration of these has been unlawful; henceforth you must consider faith as the essential basis of salvation, and you must only recognise the two sacraments which Christ Himself instituted—the Lord's Supper and Baptism. Secondly, no ban, which has no warrant in God's Word, and which is a burden on consciences, shall any longer be valid. Thirdly, in the confessional the detailed enumeration of sins must be discontinued. Pilgrimages and processions must cease, for they are profitable to nobody's salvation, and have no warrant from the Word of God. All Church services and ceremonies for the benefit of the dead must also be abolished as quite useless; tolling of bells, singing, masses, vigils, even Church burial and prayers for the dead, 'for the dead are in God's hands and at the mercy of His justice;' the evil practice of consecrating water, salt, ashes, palms, lights, herbs, and so forth, must also be put a stop to, 'for it is all human absurdity and of no use whatsoever.' All religious Orders were to be abolished except those which waged war against the infidels and the heathen, 'such as the Teutonic Order,' for instance. The episcopal constitution of the Church, however, was not to be overthrown, but only 'fulfilled with the evangelical spirit.' 'Bishops are to remain in the Church, to preach and expound God's Word in its purity, and to preside over the Church.' The 'superstitious' distinctions of fasts and festivals must be discontinued; 'every day is to be considered a Lord's day, on which meat or fish may be eaten, according to individual inclination and necessity, or as the good God provides it.' The

only compulsory festivals were to be Sunday and the three high festivals of Easter, Whitsuntide, and Christmas, 'which are to be observed in a Christian manner, in accordance with God's Word and ordinance.' The observance of other festivals and holy days which are not mentioned in God's Word, and which take people away from their daily work and callings, is mere human invention and nonsense, and only leads to evil. Queis further insists on the use of the German language in the Church services for singing and for prayer, and also in the baptismal service, 'so that everybody may understand what is being sung, prayed, or done.' The hymn of praise to the Virgin, 'Salve Regina,' which is contrary to Scripture, must not be sung any more, for it tends to belittling the majesty of God. Queis also lays down fresh rules for the incomes of the clergy: clergymen who do not officiate, but only hold the revenues of a living, are not to receive the tithes any longer; those only who serve at the altar are to receive the wages of the altar. The adoration of the host, except during the Communion, was forbidden. 'Henceforth in no churches must the consecrated bread be kept stored up and regarded, or carried about, as the body of Christ at other times than that of the Communion service.'

The veneration of pictures was also forbidden. The bars to marriage connected with the so-called spiritual relationship of god-parents and god-children were to be annulled. Brotherhoods and guilds were enjoined not to spend their endowments on masses, but on the maintenance of the poor, or for other godly objects. For 'the holding of daily Mass is an abomination in God's sight; therefore this practice must be discontinued in all churches, and indeed everywhere.' The Communion

must be administered in both kinds according to the institution of Christ. Finally Queis thunders anathemas at all who put any trust in their own good works and presume to think that they can 'compass their salvation without the merits of Christ;' and he pronounces the death sentence of clerical celibacy: 'All priests, monks, and nuns are free to forsake their Orders and enter into the married state.'[1]

In view of the terrible state of internal anarchy into which the Teutonic Order had lapsed, and the profligacy of many of its knights, Pope Adrian VI. had most urgently exhorted the Grand Master to begin carrying out the reforms necessary for restoring the Order to its ancient dignity.[2] On June 8, 1523, Albert had appealed to the Pope, as though he were himself loyal to the Holy See, to issue a severe penal edict against the delinquent knights of the Order who had gone over to the Lutheran doctrines, at the same time asking for a list of the penalties which he was bound, as Grand Master, to enforce against them. In making this appeal he had cast suspicions on the King of Poland as having aimed for years past at bringing the Order under secular dominion, and had hinted that it would be a matter of rejoicing to that monarch if 'the subtle poison' of Luther's doctrine worked the destruction of the Order.[3] Exactly six days later Albert sent an autograph letter to Luther by a trustworthy messenger, assuring him that he intended to undertake the reform of the Order entirely in accordance with his (Luther's) opinions. And then, in order to allay the suspicions aroused against him in Rome, he caused the Pope to

[1] Tschackert, i. 104–105. [2] Höfler's *Adrian VI.* p. 433.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 435.

be assured that 'he would never act otherwise than with full regard to the welfare of his Papal Holiness, and as was becoming in a Christian prince of the Holy Roman Empire.' At the suggestion of a papal legate he addressed a letter to the Bishop of Samland on November 8, 1524, charging him 'to set to work immediately to abolish all the unchristian usages that had been introduced, and henceforth to do nothing in opposition to the Pope and to the Roman Church.' But on the same day, in another private letter, he informed the Bishop that he had only sent him these instructions as a blind to the legate; 'the Bishop was to proceed in the course he had embarked upon, but to be cautious: he (Albert) would support and protect him as long as he himself was preserved by the grace of God.'[1] On January 24, 1525, Albert wrote to the papal legate Campeggio that the irregularities and disturbances which had occurred during his absence from Prussia had excited his grave displeasure; he begged, however, that the Pope would not hold him answerable for them, and assured him that on his return home he would use his authority as a Christian prince in such a manner that the Pope would have no cause to be displeased with him.[2]

Such was 'the honourable way' in which the Grand Master acted.

[1] Nicolovius, *Die bischöfliche Würde in Preussens evangelischer Kirche*, p. 21; Voigt's *Preussische Geschichte*, ix. 727–737; Tschackert, ii. 87; Kolberg's *Einführung der Reformation in Preussen*, p. 131 ff.; Klopp, in *Hist.-polit. Bl.* pp. 121, 389 ff. The Protestant theologian C. A. G. von Zezschwitz says: 'His debts, on account of which he was safe in no corner of Germany, turned the Master of the Order into a duke. Whilst with the Pope he denounced the Wittenbergers he acted the reformer at home.' (*Aims of the Lutheran Reformation*, p. 27.)

[2] Tschackert, ii. 105.

Albert next addressed himself to the King of Poland, through his brother George and his brother-in-law Duke Frederic of Liegnitz, asking Sigmund to raise him to the dignity of secular Duke of Prussia, and promising him fealty in return. King Sigmund laid the proposal before the Polish Imperial Council, but it roused much opposition. Some of the members objected that such a step would lead to a breach between Poland and the Holy See, under whose suzerainty Prussia stood, and with the Roman Empire, of which Albert was a prince, and above all that it would be prejudicial to the Catholic Church. Others said that the good of their own country was all they were concerned with; the Teutonic Order was the enemy of Poland, and it was a matter of perfect indifference to them to whom it owed allegiance. Besides, the Teutonic Knights were no longer able to fulfil the original intention of their Order—namely, to wage war against the infidels. As for the Pope, who had supported Albert in his refusal of the oath of allegiance, they owed him no consideration whatever.

The King of Poland expressed his satisfaction with these latter views, after which certain negotiations were carried on with some of the delegates of the Order and of the Prussian estates, and then, in a personal interview between Sigmund and the Grand Master, a treaty was concluded by which, as the Emperor declared in his annulling edict,[1] 'injury and offence were committed against the Christian Church and religion, the Emperor and the Empire, the Teutonic Order, and the German nobility.'[2]

[1] 'Cassationsedict.'

[2] Later on Albert was summoned to the Imperial High Court of Justice. As he did not appear, he was banned.

Albert was thus guilty of appropriating 'as an hereditary possession' a territory which had merely been entrusted to him for government, and of violating his duty towards the Church and the Empire. His perjury was of a threefold nature—against the Church, against the Empire, and against the Teutonic Order. He handed over to King Sigmund the title-deeds by which the Hohenstaufen Emperor, Frederic II., had bestowed the territory of Prussia on the knights of the Order, and on April 10, 1525, he received, for himself and his brothers and the lawful heirs of their bodies, the investiture of the Duchy of Prussia as a fief of the Polish crown. 'For himself and all his subjects' he took the oath of 'perpetual homage' to the crown of Poland; as the badge of his ducal rank he was to wear, on a gold chain, the eagle with outstretched wings, and on the breast of the eagle was the initial letter of the name of Sigmund, his new Polish feudal lord.[1]

On the day (towards the end of May) when the Prussian provincial Estates, assembled at Königsberg, took the oath of allegiance to the Grand Master in his new character of Duke of Prussia, Albert declared to them that he was a lover of peace, and that it was for the sake of peace only that he had assumed the ownership of the territory and converted it into a secular duchy.[2]

On this same occasion Bishop Polentz of Samland made over to the Duke his right of sovereignty, together with his lands and vassals, and was compensated

[1] C. A. Hase's *Herzog Albrecht von Preussen und sein Hofprediger*, pp. 32–33; Tschackert, i. 20; Joachim, iii. 366 ff.; Kolberg's *Einführung der Reformation in Preussen*, p. 137 ff.; Klopp, pp. 121, 397 ff.; Falk's *Chronik*, p. 140.

[2] Falk's *Chronik*.

for the surrender by a share of the former property of the Order, and large revenues in money and natural products. 'The Bishop of Samland gave up his bishopric to the Duke in presence of the whole assembly. 'How virtuously he behaved in so doing, and what right he had to act in such a manner, each one may judge for himself. He simply wanted to have a wife, and for this object he sacrificed loyalty and honour.' He caused his mitre to be broken up, and out of its precious stones and jewels he had ornaments made for his wife. He also stole twenty-four florins' worth of material from the church, so the canons say, and had it made up into covers and curtains for his beds. He also robbed churches and convents, and with the proceeds procured silver vases and other things pleasing to his pride.[1]

The Bishop of Pomesania, later on, also gave up his rights over his diocese to the Duke.

Several of the Teutonic knights received from Duke Albert great territories and dignities. The most highly favoured among them was Albert's all-powerful favourite Frederic von Heydeck, the chief promoter of the treacherous transactions with Poland. 'Heydeck,' says the new-religionist chronicler Freiberg, 'set up for being an exemplary Christian,' but to the poor people placed under his rule he was a devil and a tyrant.[2]

On July 6, 1525, the Duke issued a religious edict to all the preachers in the land, enjoining them 'to proclaim the Holy Gospel and the teaching of Christ in

[1] Report of the Teutonic Knight Philipp von Creutz, in *Scriptt. Rerum Prussicarum*, v. 377–378; Tschackert, ii. 120; Kolberg, p. 142 ff.

[2] Hase, pp. 33, 34, 62. Heydeck became later on an influential patron of the Anabaptists.

all purity and plainness,' and to admonish the people to obedience towards the ruling powers. 'Whosoever disregards this command,' he threatened, 'and sets himself up to teach anything else, that person shall in no wise be tolerated in our duchy of Prussia; but we shall proceed against him with penal measures, inasmuch as the sword of office is given into our hands by Almighty God for the punishment of the disobedient, and above all the rebellious.'[1] All the secular and monastic clergy who refused to preach Lutheran doctrine, and to administer the 'ceremonies' according to the new instructions, were deprived of their incomes and expelled from their homes, and thus driven to the alternative of emigration or apostasy. Every vestige and memento of the old faith, above all the crosses and sacred images in the country roads, fell a prey to the hand of the destroyer. The penalty of hanging was assigned to all visitors of the so-called 'Holy Lime-tree,' a pilgrim shrine held in special veneration by the people, and this punishment was enforced in the case of several visitors 'in order to frighten others.'[2]

When in the year 1526 Albert applied to the knights and the towns for means 'to keep up a court in a manner suitable to his dignity,' the Estates declared themselves incapable of responding to the appeal, and referred the Duke to the still available Church treasures. If he left one chalice to each altar, they said, that would be enough for the churches. 'So then they took all the chalices and other treasures out of all the churches and left scarcely

[1] Von Baczko's *Geschichte Preussens*, iv. 178 ff.; Tschackert, i. 118 ff.

[2] M. Ch. Hartknoch's *Preussische Kirchenhistorie*, &c., p. 278; Baczko, iv. 212.

a single chalice in any church, much less one to each altar. After that they were obliged to use tin chalices in some of the country churches for the service of God. Then when they had taken all the silver they fell upon the bells and left but one in each village; they were all taken to the court at Königsberg, and they were worth a large sum of money. The Duke had part of the silver made into bowls and drinking vessels, such as were suitable for the court of a prince.'[1] At Marienwerder only did the prebendaries, appealing to the protection of the King of Poland, make a stand for the retention of their Church plate and other property. But when they complained to the King that Bishop Erhard von Queis had seized the goods of the chapter, the Duke cut the matter short by having them taken prisoners and sent in chains to Preuschmark.[2]

The Duke by degrees got the whole ecclesiastical power into his own hands, and he arrogated to himself the right of appointing preachers and other Church officials. But this assumption of power did not bring him happiness. Thirty years after the inauguration of his 'sovereign rule' he lamented to his 'confessor,' Funk, 'I suffer distress, and nothing but distress everywhere. You are doubtless aware that we have, alas! few true shepherds of souls in our territory, but a plentiful crew of hirelings and storks. For by their works they are known.'[3]

In 1526 Albert broke his vow of chastity and married Dorothea, a daughter of King Frederic of Denmark. 'Freed from the snares of men' and 'brought to the light of the true faith,' he wrote to

[1] Falk's *Chronik*, pp. 157–158. [2] Von Baczko, iv. 205 ff.
[3] Hase, p. 235.

Luther when inviting him to his wedding, 'we have renounced the sign of the cross and taken upon ourselves the worldly estate. And whereas we were desirous of following the example which you and other Christians have set us, "of increasing and multiplying," we have before God plighted our troth to Fräulein Dorothea, and determined to celebrate our princely marriage at Königsberg, in Prussia, on St. John's day.'[1]

But in his 'increasing and multiplying' the Duke experienced 'only fresh sorrow,' and in his spiritual and temporal sovereignty he had 'nowhere any good fortune.'[2]

The newly established evangelical territory became the fighting-ground of the fiercest theological contentions, and the secular rule 'brought anything but a blessing on the people.' The Prussian nobility, who, according to the old constitution of the order, took part in the chapters of the order and had a share in the government of the land, would not forgo their rights after the erection of the duchy. For a time the Duke was able to silence their claims by gifts from the territory of the Order and from the spoils of the Church property. But in consequence of continuous impecuniosity[3] Albert became powerless against the nobles, under whose crushing tyranny the peasants, robbed of all their rights, were reduced to slavish bondage. Again and again the Duke complained that he 'had no single loyal subject in the

[1] Hase, p. 49.

[2] See note X., Appendix.

[3] Albert's personal debts amounted finally to nearly half a million thalers (Hase, p. 332).

land,' and that 'he would rather tend sheep than be sovereign of the land.'[1]

In the German principalities the Catholic religion was put down with violence, and without any regard for the rights of the Catholics; but at the same time the ancient Church service was never treated with such flagrant and open disrespect in these districts as in many of the imperial and self-governing towns, where the new doctrines had become entirely domesticated, with the inevitable result of extinguishing all religious feeling in the people. Particularly applicable to the towns was the remark made by Duke George of Saxony towards the end of the year 1526 that 'by plunder of churches, expulsion of clergymen, and general spoliation of property which belonged to God and His servants, an attempt was being made to uproot all the hallowed traditions and ordinances of the Church.'[2]

'In especial,' says the Duke, 'ought we most keenly to deplore the indignities and insults heaped upon the holy and adorable Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Lord and God, Jesus Christ; which are so coarse that no mere creature could be treated so wantonly. Moreover, the Blessed among women, Mary, the Mother

[1] Hase, pp. 343, 390. At last Albert found it necessary to imprison and to behead his court preacher and 'confessor' Funk with two accomplices, as squanderers of public money and disturbers of the public peace: see details in Hase, 331-371. Concerning the wretched moral condition of Prussia after the introduction of the new doctrine, see Kolberg, 347 sq. As early as 1529 an inspector's report complains that the new pastors are reduced to herding horses and cows and to toil like peasants and common labourers; churches and parsonages are decaying; the parishes, the nobles, the burghers, do nothing for them. Tschackert, ii. 216.

[2] Höfler's *Charitas Pirkheimer*, pp. cxi-cxii.

of God, together with the entire heavenly host, and together with our mother, the Christian Church, is spoken of with a contumely greater than many an infidel has indulged in. From this it is easy to surmise what sort of grace God has in store for us poor sinners.'

At Stralsund in the year 1525 a Christmas play was performed in which the Pope and the whole body of clergy were burlesqued in the most scandalous manner, and ridicule cast on the Emperor, and even on the Saviour. The nuns of the convent of St. Bridget, nicknamed by the preachers 'heavenly harlots,' were for a long time subject to being pelted in church with stones and mud; and later on they were driven out of the convent; the convent was plundered and destroyed, and its property confiscated. Other churches and cloisters were treated in like manner; priests were maltreated while reading the Holy Mass; altars were daubed with dirt; crucifixes and pictures destroyed; the sacred host trodden under foot. In the church of St. Nicholas the town beadle and the hangman, in the presence of 'several hundred members of the council and the community,' inflicted so serious a wound on one of the priests 'that he lost a whole kettleful of blood in the church.' A reading-master from the convent of St. Catherine was almost strangled in the very presence of the council. The town syndic extolled the generosity of the council for having allowed the plundered and ill-used priests and monks to escape in freedom.[1]

[1] Fuller details in the *Baltischen Studien*, xix. 159–186; and *Erläutertes Preussen*, ii. 320–322 and iii. 139–199; M. Ch. Hartknoch's *Preussische Kirchhistorie*, &c., p. 1040.

At Braunsberg, in Ermeland, the burgomaster, George Rabe, mimicked the Mass in brewing beer and 'gave his disciples his chalice to drink.' The second burgomaster, Leonhard von Rosen, put on priestly vestments and amused the people in the market-place by ridiculing the Mass. At the installation of a Catholic priest burgomaster Rabe shouted out in the church, 'Behold the wolf!' and thus created a tumult among the people.[1]

At Brunswick on Easter Day 1527 the Catholic priest was pelted out of his pulpit with rotten apples,[2] and the following year the forcible introduction of the new Church system was commenced. The action of the town council in handing over the mendicant friars to their bitter enemies had marked influence. At Easter 1528 they were forbidden to preach and to receive any more novices. Pre-eminent among the zealous preachers of the new doctrines in this town was one, Johann Bugenhagen, who had migrated with his family from Wittenberg to Brunswick in May 1528. With the ardour of a fanatic he swept the churches clear of every 'vestige of popish superstition and idolatry.' Altars, candelabras, pictures, and images were cast out; the stones of the altars were used for repairing walls; all gold and silver vessels were taken possession of and melted down; the costly Mass vestments were sold by auction in the council house. In the midst of this persecution Catholicism remained intact in the two collegiate churches of St. Blasius and St. Cyriacus, which the innovators could not lay hands

[1] Hartknoch, p. 1040.

[2] Hildebrand's *Archiv merkwürdiger Urkunden und Nachrichten*, Jahrg. 1833, p. 54. See our statements, vol. i. pp. 713–714 (*Engl. Transl.*)

on because Duke Henry had the right of patronage over them. That a very considerable number of the inhabitants remained true to the old Church is seen from the complaints and threats of the innovators. 'Let them sing and ring and carry on their fools' mummery among themselves if they like; we can put up with that so long as they do not mislead our burghers and burgheresses, our menservants and maidservants. But these also still flock daily to the Mass.' Hence everybody was to be publicly warned against the commission of this heinous offence, and refractory members were to be excommunicated. The fact that strong attachment to the old Church did prevail among the people is convincingly attested by the system of Church organisation developed by Bugenhagen, in which, in order to conciliate the people, it was necessary to retain many Catholic usages and festivals.

At Hamburg iconoclastic disturbances began in December 1528; church goods were confiscated, the Catholic Church service inhibited; the Cistercian convent of Harvestehude, where the clergy still dared to read the Mass, was rased to the ground, and a public hostel was built on its site.[1]

At Wismar in 1526 the populace stirred up 'a dangerous tumult and revolt, had wood and pitch barrels carried to the market-place,' and insisted that the Catholic priests should hold a public disputation with the preacher Neverus, a former monk. The populace was to be arbiter in this discussion, 'and

[1] Lappenberg's *Hamburgische Chroniken in Niedersächsssprache*, pp. 543–570; Gallois, *Hamburgische Chronik von den ältesten Zeiten bis auf die Jetztzeit*, ii. 660 ff., 722–723.

whichever party could not satisfactorily justify and defend itself was instantly to be sacrificed to Vulcan.'[1]

'In all directions, wherever one turned, in the north and in the south, things were in a demoralised, disorderly, deplorable condition.'[2]

Preacher Lachmann, of Heilbronn, wrote in May 1527: 'We are going on in a queer way: there is naked dancing, the Lord's Supper is spoken of with blasphemy; some will use cheese with it—I am ashamed to pen other shameless words—methinks the authorities are pleased with such sacrileges, divisions, and great vices; I should not wonder if pitch and brimstone rained down from heaven.'[3]

Even in Frankfort-on-the-Main, a 'town' formerly of high repute for the honourable and respectable character of its council and its burghers,' turbulence and insubordination had gained the upper hand. The council declared itself powerless against the insurrectionary proceedings of two preachers, Melander and Algersheimer, who declaimed from their pulpits against the Pope, the clergy, confession, and fasting, and declared the Sacrament of the altar to be nothing but water and flour, and the Mass a diabolical institution.

'We humbly pray,' wrote the council in 1526 to the Archbishop of Mayence, who had called for the expulsion of the preachers, 'that your electoral Grace will mercifully bear with us, for we cannot at the

[1] Lappenberg, pp. 543–570; Gallois, ii. 660 sq., 722–723. As late as 1526 the council had expelled a preacher from the town 'because of his doctrine which ruined the town; he was an escaped monk and a blacksmith's servant, who had been driven out of every place as a disturber of the peace.' But soon the council lost control over the populace.

[2] Wiggers, *Kirchengeschichte Mecklenburgs*, p. 110.

[3] Jäger, *Mittheilungen*, i. 76–77.

present time eject the preachers in this manner without danger of imprisonment. We have hitherto striven as much as possible to put down all disturbances without bloodshed, and we are quite convinced that these preachers will not submit to us.' Vain and futile was the 'friendly petition of the council' that the Catholic pastor, Friedrich Nausea, might be left to preach in peace, and that no disturbance might be made in the parish; the populace behaved 'very scandalously and insolently during the service in the church.' On the occasion of a procession in 1527, in which the greater portion of the council took part, 'the common people indulged in loud jeering; they ridiculed the members of the council as well as the priests, and destroyed the holy elements.' The crucifix was dragged out of the churchyard to be thrown into the river Main; ecclesiastical treasures, 'given by pious people for the beautifying of the holy Mass and the altar,' were sold in derision on the public market-place.

Even members of the council took part in the abominable proceedings against the Catholic form of worship and against the clergy. The burgomaster, Clas Scheit, in company with his servants, in November 1528, attacked a canon of St. Leonhard in the open street and inflicted 'very bad wounds' on him. 'When the priests, on May 30, 1527, according to custom, were carrying the Host to Sachsenhausen, Bechtold vom Ryn, a councillor, with Clas Scheit and others of the council, set up a mummery-play in his house near the bridge, and as the procession passed stuck up a stuffed wolf at the window and hung out wolf-skins, with great mocking and derision. And as the procession was returning a mob collected on the bridge, struck up

ribald singing, and called out with loud voices, "A wolf! a wolf!" and followed the sacred procession with jeering and insults. God have pity on them!'[1]

'I had hoped at first,' wrote Wilibald Pirkheimer, who had been long a warm adherent of Luther, to Ulrich Zasius from Nuremberg in 1527, 'I had hoped that a certain amount of freedom—spiritual freedom, that is—might have fallen to our share. But now, as we plainly see, all things have become so perverted to fleshly lusts that the last state of the case is worse than the first. If only my good Nurembergers would open their eyes at last, and not let themselves be thus imposed upon by a handful of heretical seducers!' 'What wonder,' he says in another letter to the same friend, 'that immoral and unworthy persons force themselves into the ministerial office, since the present times abound with such a multitude of teachers that not only base, uneducated, ignorant men presume to instruct the people about Christ, but even women actually think themselves fitted for this office? Meanwhile with all this crowd of instructors we are only Christians in name; in corruptness of morals we outdo the pagans; we boast of our evangelical freedom, which is nothing more than unbridled carnal licentiousness. We make a parade of placing all our hope in Christ, whom we use as a cloak for all our vices. What, indeed, can be more delightful than, under the guise of the Gospel, to obtain renown, riches, wives, gold, land, costly raiment—all those things, in short, which in man's estimation make up the happiness of life? And

[1] Königstein, p. 117. In the Court of Justice of Spires, in 1526, it was reported that on the occasion of a procession, some Frankfort burghers had hung out trousers instead of cloth and covered the streets with excrements instead of grass, in mockery of the Sacrament.

whilst acting in this manner, enjoying all these good things, we lay the flattering unction to our souls that Christ has done all that is needed to ensure our salvation. We build our hopes on faith only, though faith 'without works is dead, as also works without faith are dead; and to how slight an extent love burns in our hearts and bears fruit in our lives is but too plainly manifested by our conduct.'[1] 'By most of the party I am looked on as a traitor to evangelical truth, because I take no delight in what seems to me in so many of the apostates, both men and women, not evangelical freedom, but diabolical licence, and because I disapprove of countless other vices which have undermined all Christian love and piety.'[2]

'Not even infidels,' said Pirkheimer in 1530, writing to the architect Tscherte at Vienna, 'would tolerate such villany and wickedness in their midst as are allowed to go on unchecked by those who call themselves "evangelicals;" their works openly prove that they have neither faith nor honesty in them, neither the fear of God nor the love of man; they cast to the winds all decency and morality, all learning and culture. Almsgiving is at an end, so too are confession and the Sacrament; scarcely any one gives a thought nowadays to the Lord God on the wooden cross.' 'The common people are taught—and taught of the Gospel forsooth—to think of nothing but general division of property, and verily if it were not for the great precautions that are being taken and the punishments threatened and inflicted we should soon have a general pillage

[1] *Zasii Epist.* pp. 344–345, 505. See Döllinger's *Reformation*, i. 165–167.

[2] To Kilian Leib. See Döllinger, i. 533.

instituted here, after the pattern already set in many places.' But when the people 'discover that there is no real intention of dividing property and sharing all things in common, as they have been led to expect, then they fall to cursing Luther and all his followers.'

As for marriage, he goes on, things have come to such a pass at Nuremberg that if it were not for the presence of the executioner we should soon have community of wives all over the town.

'God preserve all pious people and countries,' he says in conclusion, 'from such teaching, for wherever it gets a footing, peace, tranquillity, and concord take their flight!'[1]

'Peace and concord dwelt least of all' in the towns where Zwinglianism sprang up side by side with Lutheranism, and became the preponderating influence.

[1] First printed in Murr's *Journal zur Kunstgeschichte und Literatur*, x. 39–46; republished by Lochner in the *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft* (Stuttgardt, 1877), ii. 1.

CHAPTER V

ZWINGLIANISM AND ITS FIRST EFFECTS IN THE EMPIRE

The Anabaptists

ULRICH ZWINGLI, a native of Switzerland and 'people's priest' in the cathedral church of Zürich since 1518, was a more ruthless and destructive enemy even than Luther of the doctrines and constitution of the Catholic Church and of all the culture of the past.

Man, so Zwingli taught, with all his powers and faculties, was wholly given over to evil, and all his works, in consequence, were nothing else than deceit, hypocrisy, and sin. Man's justification, redemption, and salvation depended on Christ alone; for all the laws and requirements which man was unable to fulfil Christ had fulfilled for him, and in his stead. Even when a believer fell into sin it could not be said of him that he was acting in obedience to the flesh; for that meant acting in obedience to human reason and trusting to human strength, and fancying that one could become godly by means of one's own righteousness. Denying *in toto* all freedom of the human will, Zwingli did not shrink from the doctrine that God was the originator of evil, and that Divine Providence in every respect was at one with the inevitability of all that happened. 'God pervades everything to such an extent,' said Zwingli in a pamphlet on 'Providence,' dedicated to the Land-

grave Philip of Hesse, 'that He Himself is everything that is, and nothing exists which is not God.' When, however, God incites, moves, and drives any one to sin, He is always actuated by pure intentions, so that the end hallows the means.[1] 'That which is wrong for men, because it is a violation of the law, is not wrong for God, because for Him there is no such thing as law.' To the question naturally suggested by these statements: Why God did not make man good, and let him go uncondemned in case of his falling into sin, Zwingli answered: 'Why God did not make you good is a question you must ask of your Creator; I have not been taken into His counsels. I have learnt from St. Paul, however, that God does not act unjustly when He uses His creatures according to His will, just as the potter cannot be accused of injustice when out of the selfsame clay he shapes one vessel to honour and another to dishonour.' 'He disposes of His vessels, that is, of us men, according as He wills: this one He chooses out, to send him forth on His work and service, that one He rejects. He can make His vessels whole, or He can destroy them, as He wills; He has pity on whom He will have pity, and whom He will He hardens.' Even the eternal damnation of those who went out of the world unconverted was held by Zwingli to be the fulfilment of a decree of God ordained from all eternity.[2]

[1] 'Quod Deus facit,' he says in one place, 'libere facit, alienus ab omni affectu noxio, igitur et absque peccato, ut adulterium David, quod ad auctorem Deum pertinet, non magis Deo sit peccatum, quam cum taurus totum armentum inscendit et implet.'—J. A. Möhler's *Symbolik*, pp. 47–48.

[2] Fuller details in Möhler, xlv. pp. 251–253. C. Riffel's *Christliche Kirchengeschichte der neuesten Zeit*, &c., iii. 54. Schulte-Rohrbacher's *Universal-Geschichte der katholischen Kirche*, &c., pp. 233–237. See my letter, 'An meine Kritiker,' pp. 125–126 (new ed.).

The doctrine that God was the originator of evil had more influence on the religious life and morals of the people than all the other teaching of the innovators.

Zwingli attacked the inward structure of the Church and the Sacraments with unsparing violence. He did not even regard them as symbols and pledges of divine mercy and forgiveness, as did Luther and his disciples, but declared them to be mere forms and ceremonies by which believers gave outward token of their membership of the Church. Baptism was to him merely a badge of enlistment, the Lord's Supper a mere commemoration of Christ's atoning death, work, and passion.

He came into the fiercest collision with Luther respecting his doctrine of the Sacrament of the Altar. Luther had indeed rejected the Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation, but he held firmly the belief in the actual presence of Christ at the Holy Communion, and he denounced Zwingli, who denied this presence, as a dangerous heretic and a veritable Antichrist, with whom no believer ought to have any fellowship.

Zwingli remained for a long time unmolested by the Council of Zürich, and he went on preaching with passionate vehemence against the whole ecclesiastical body, and against all the laws, ordinances, and usages of the Church. He gained a considerable following among a certain section of the clergy, and also among the common people. In the year 1522 he and nine other clergymen holding similar opinions joined together in addressing a petition to the Bishop of Constance and the confederates for the abolition of celibacy among the clergy, urging as their reason for

taking this step 'the scandalously dissolute lives which we (we are speaking of ourselves only) have hitherto led with women, whereby we have given frequently scandal and offence.'[1]

[1] *Ein freundlich Bitt und Ermahnung*, &c., in *Zwinglii Opp.* i. 30–51. With an unparalleled cynicism, Zwingli himself acknowledges his immoral conduct, even with a public prostitute. See his letter in *Opp.* vii. 54–57, which is a reply to a previous letter of Myconius, who had written '. . . de virgine stuprata responde imprimis rogo.' In the year 1522 he wrote to his immediate relatives: 'If you hear it said that I sin through pride, gluttony, and unchastity, believe it; for unfortunately I am enslaved to these and other vices.' (*Opp.* i. 86). Later on, he took to wife a widow with whom he had long kept up an unchaste intercourse. Compare the letters of Myconius and Bucer, *Opp.* vii. 209–210, 335. For further details concerning Zwingli's conduct, consult my writing, *An meine Kritiker*, pp. 127–140; also *Ein zweites Wort*, pp. 46–48 (new edition). Extending his own experience to others, Zwingli preached: 'That among a thousand spiritual persons, be they monks, priests, or nuns, there shall not be found a single one who does not practise unchastity.' Cp. Egli, *Actensammlung*, p. 62.

Additional note by Pastor.—The latest biographer of Zwingli, R. Stähelin, has endeavoured to refute Janssen's statements regarding the immoral life of Zwingli (*H. Zwingli, sein Leben und sein Wirken*, Basel, 1895, i. 110 *sq.*, 221 *sq.*); however, as Paulus in the *Katholik*, 1895, ii. 475 *sq.*, has shown, without success. That Zwingli led an immoral life when he was pastor of Glarus and *Leutpriester* in Einsiedeln, even Stähelin is forced to concede; but he denies that Zwingli continued his evil practices after he came as pastor to Zürich in 1518. Now it is beyond cavil that in the year 1522 Zwingli began a carnal intimacy with the widow, Anna Reinhard, whom he did not publicly marry until the April of 1524, and who, four months later, on July 31, bore him a child. In order to shield his hero from the reproach of concubinage, Stähelin assumes that the previous relation of Zwingli with the Reinhard woman had been of a legitimate, but secret, matrimonial character. Against this assumption, Paulus in the above-cited article demonstrates that neither Zwingli himself nor any of his friends laid any stress on this legitimacy of a secret bond with Anna Reinhard. 'Be this as it may, however,' concludes Paulus, 'it is incontestable that a connection which the canonical and civil legislation of the times agreed in branding as a concubinage, and which was regarded as such by many, was a sad incongruity in the case of a man who sought to pose as a "Reformer."' Notwithstanding his predilection for Zwingli, Stähelin himself confesses (i. 224) that 'at any rate a certain blemish attaches to the connection.'

The town councillors of Zürich, however, did not wish to interfere in the internal affairs of the Church. Down to the year 1523 they had continued to recognise the spiritual jurisdiction of the Pope and the Bishop of Constance,[1] and it was not till after the formation of a politico-religious party which, on the basis of the Gospel, taught out-and-out socialistic equality among mankind, that the Council formed a close alliance with Zwingli, who 'appealed to the secular sword and government for the support of the Divine Word.' In 1525 the Council erected a new State church, in which Zwinglian doctrines only were to be preached as 'the pure Gospel.' They suppressed the Catholic church-service, and, in token of the complete breach with the Christian past, they caused all the altars and tabernacles to be 'swept clean away, and the gaps walled in.' Since God was only to be worshipped in the spirit, every picture and image, said Zwingli, must be removed. 'Even if we Christians,' said the associate of Zwingli, the preacher, Leo Judä, 'have the body of Christ still present with us, we cannot build upon the fact; for the bodily presence of Christ does not appear to have been particularly fruitful in results, or the Jews also would have been converted.' 'The gold and silver idols' in the churches 'were a veritable abomination in the sight of God.' Hence the Town Council of Zürich made haste 'to cleanse the churches from this pollution.' They appropriated to their own use all the gold, art treasures, and all the jewels. The cathedral church was especially rich in 'sacred booty,' and amongst other treasures taken

[1] Fuller details in E. Egli's *Wiedertäufer*, pp. 8–16; Nitsche, pp. 1–18.

thence by the Council on October 2, 1525, there were four silver busts of the martyrs of Zürich, four costly crosses, four rich and heavy monstrances; a statue of the Virgin, consisting of sixty pounds of pure gold; beautiful reliquaries adorned with precious stones; a large quantity of incense-burners, two missals, one of them set with precious stones, the other bound in ivory; ten gold chalices; a number of valuable silver vessels; relics of St. Gall and of Charles the Great; also Charles the Great's prayer-book bound in gold; a high altar cloth embroidered with pictures of Melchisedek and Abraham, which had cost 600*l*. The treasures of gold weighed over a hundredweight, the silver ones several hundredweights: all of them were melted down and sent to the mint. The costly silk and velvet materials 'were sold at a low price to low people, so that it caused great offence to see common people using the priestly vestments for the gratification of their pride and love of luxury.' All the parchments and the richly decorated and illuminated choir and hymn books were for the most part torn up by order of the Council. The library was 'given away' for a mere nothing to book-binders, shopkeepers, and apothecaries.

Still more considerable was the spoil from the 'Frauenmünster,' the foundation of the daughters of Ludwig the German, where the church treasures were plundered on September 14, 1528. Among the collection there were several heavy gold crosses, one gold reliquary, one gold image of the Virgin weighing 60 pounds; one relic of Charles the Great, with his picture; one book of the Gospels bound in silver and ivory, and one bound in gold; a quantity of silver relics, monstrances, chalices, bowls, candlesticks, and tables, to the

weight of several hundredweights, besides many beautifully embroidered and painted carpets and vestments. Everything that was capable of being coined found its way into the crucible.

'Not a farthingsworth of property,' it was complained, 'was left in the sacristy' (of the cathedral church), 'but in the course of eight years everything was made away with, and nobody knew what had become of it all.'[1]

Zwingli proceeded ruthlessly with the destruction of all mementos of the old faith, and with the plunder of the clergy.

All the property of foundations and convents was confiscated. When Thomas Murner accused the Zürichers at Lucerne of heresy and church robbery, the Town Council lodged complaints against him with the magistrates of Lucerne, and protested that 'the Council and the town of Zürich had always conducted themselves with exemplary piety, and were looked on by everybody as honourable and godly people; that they were subject neither to the Emperor nor to any prince, and that they recognised no sovereign, lord, or chief; that by virtue of their supreme magisterial authority they had just as much right to deal with ecclesiastical personages and property, according to their own discretion in particular cases and circumstances, as had the King of France, the Venetian republic, and other governing powers.'[2]

On October 12, 1527, the Council was compelled to issue a mandate to the sub-magistrates 'against the

[1] E. Egli's *Actensammlung*, p. 893, No. 2004: 'Prorsus nihil supererat.'

[2] *Eidgenössische Abschiede*, iv., Abth. 1[b], p. 67.

wanton seizure of church goods and yearly revenues and profits.' On May 19 they complained again, in a mandate to all the upper and under magistrates and all subjects, that 'the church goods, rents, taxes, fines, and annual benefits' were being 'shamefully and dangerously dealt with;' that a large part of these revenues was being 'squandered by the chief officials and others in rioting and carousing.'

The new form of divine service instituted by the State consisted of two ordinances: preaching and the Lord's Supper; the latter, since Easter 1526, had been administered only at the four chief festivals of the year. The manner of celebration was as follows: Large wooden platters of bread and beakers of wine were placed on a table, round which the communicants sat; they helped themselves with their own hands to pieces of bread, and drank wine from the beaker. The presence at sermons in towns and provinces was enjoined under pain of punishment; all teaching and church worship that deviated from the prescribed regulations was punishable.

Even outside the district of Zürich the clergy were not allowed to read Mass or the laity to attend. And it was actually forbidden, 'under pain of severe punishment, to keep pictures and images even in private houses.' When on one occasion some of the members of the Council had the courage to eat fish on a Friday instead of meat, they were turned out of the Council on the charge of 'offensive conspiracy' and 'dangerous schism,' for each one of them had sworn to abide by what 'the Church of Zürich' had decreed to be 'godly and Christian.'

Such was the nature of 'holy Christian freedom

according to the divine word' in the town of Zürich.

The example of Zürich was followed by other Swiss cantons, where, in like manner, the secular government, taking its stand nominally on 'the pure Word of God,' ordered the abolition of the old faith and worship, and the introduction of the new, placed the Catholic religion under a penal ban, and bolstered up the new religion with stern legal regulations.

At Berne the Town Council had remained loyal to the old faith till the end of 1526, and on May 21 of that year it had solemnly enjoined the delegates from Lucerne, Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden, Zug, Freiburg, and Solothurn, to continue in the Catholic faith.[1] In the following year, however, the religious innovators were in a majority in both boards of councillors, and after the holding of a colloquy on religion, such as had lately become the fashion, the Council, in February 1528, issued a decree with reference to 'general reform and improvement.' The Zwinglian doctrine was therein described as the true Gospel, and every one, without exception, was enjoined to embrace it. Every priest, who after the first punishment read the holy Mass a second time, would be outlawed. Men and women who dared to go on wearing rosaries would be fined 10 florins.[2] The 'glorious evangelical enthusiasm' manifested itself in a furious iconoclastic onslaught against churches and convents. 'The altars and idols of the temples have been thrown down,' exclaimed Zwingli in a sermon at Berne, 'but the scum and the

[1] *Eidgenössische Abschiede*, iv., Abth. 1ª, pp. 937–938.

[2] R. L. Herminjard's *Correspondance des Réformateurs dans la Langue Française*, ii. 197.

filth must be swept away also. . . . Here lies a statue with broken head, and there another with arms amputated. Now, if the holy saints who are up in heaven with God had been injured by all this destruction, and if they really possessed the power attributed to them, nobody could have moved these emblems from their places, still less have beheaded and mutilated them in this manner.'[1]

Among the store of treasures stolen from the Cathedral of St. Vincent at Berne were the skull of St. Vincent himself in a box of pure gold, weighing nearly 200 ounces, and with a jewel on it worth 2,000 double ducats; a statue of the Saviour, and a cross $1\frac{1}{2}$ ells in length, both of pure gold, the first weighing 31 pounds, and the second 18 pounds; three gold caskets with a number of relics; a gold monstrance, 165 ounces in weight, ornamented with a turquoise valued at 300 crowns; 70 gold chalices and 50 silver-gilt ones; an incense-burner weighing over 8 pounds; a silver image of the Virgin, 80 pounds in weight, with a crown of gold and some jewels worth 700 crowns; a silver casket studded with jewels, 190 pounds in weight; 450 mass vestments, 'with costly crosses and jewels of great worth;' copes, 'chiefly of damascene velvet, with all manner of costly adornings of gold buttons, most exquisitely wrought.' The large organ, with thirty-two registers, a famous work of art, valued at 15,000 florins, was sold by the town councillors for 300 crowns to the town of Sitten (Sion). Some of the pictures, 'after all the gold appertaining to them had first been scraped

[1] *Zwinglii Opp.* 2[a], p. 228. Bullinger, speaking of the destruction of images, says: 'To many it was a vile performance. But there was no fighting, no uproar, no blood. For, however excited some burghers were, God had mercy,' i. 438.

off, were thrown into the River Aar or buried in the churchyard.'[1]

One of the most violent of the iconoclasts was the preacher Wilhelm Farel. At Tavannes he broke into a church whilst a priest was reading the holy Mass and declaimed with such passion and fervour that the congregation forthwith proceeded to destroy the altars and images.[2] His companion Froment, in a church at Boudevilliers, snatched the Host out of a priest's hands during the Mass and gave rise to bloody proceedings in the church.[3] At Neuenburg also Farel's preaching stirred up an iconoclastic riot; the crucifixes were broken in pieces, the sacred Host thrown on the ground or eaten like common bread. Farel made use of licentious soldiers to help in his work of reform. Most of the inhabitants remained true to the Catholic faith, but with the help given by the town of Berne the Catholic church-service was speedily abolished.[4] The Bernese town council declared that it would never lend a hand to punish iconoclasts.[5] At Grandson, however, Farel and his associates met with a very bad reception. 'The faces of the preachers,' says a contemporary report, 'are covered with scratches, as if they had been fighting with cats; the alarm bell was rung on their arrival, as though for a wolf-hunt.'[6]

[1] Salat's *Chronik.* i. 172: 'When the images were stormed and burned at Zofingen, an honest fellow took a great and beautiful crucifix on his shoulders and, sword in hand, carried it away, under the eyes of the stormers, to St. John's church on a hill by Reyden.' See note XII., Appendix.

[2] Froment, *Actes et Gestes merveilleux*, &c., in Herminjard, ii. 252.

[3] Herminjard, ii. 270.

[4] *Ibid.* ii. 292-295.

[5] 'Le Conseil de Berne à la Dame de Valangin,' Herminjard, ii. 314.

[6] '. . . . On a sonné contre eux le tocsin, comme pour une chasse aux loups.'

At Basle the preacher Œcolampadius was the soul of the tumult.

Towards the end of the year 1527, the Bishop of Basle had been robbed of the last remnants of power, both spiritual and temporal, the cloisters had been abolished, and the greater part of the property belonging to them confiscated, and some of the churches 'cleansed from the pollution of the Catholic church-service.' But the Town Council was not yet disposed to make the exercise of the old forms of worship penal. It decided in the autumn of the same year that each councillor was to be free to choose his own faith, and that no one should be compelled either to attend the Mass or to hear this or that preacher. But this decision did not satisfy the 'ardent' new religionists. Œcolampadius incited the guilds to purge and renovate the Council, and to alter its constitution according to the spirit of 'the Gospel.' The Catholic members were to be ejected, and the right of itself filling in the vacancies withdrawn from the Council; the vacant posts were to be filled by members of the guilds. Several of the latter, in order to do honour to Œcolampadius and his associates, invited them to large banquets of from fifty to a hundred guests.

'A day has been appointed for the papists,' Œcolampadius informed Zwingli in a letter on December 23, 1528, 'on which they are to inform the Council whether they wish to remain here or to decamp. They have got the wolf tight by the ears.'[1] On the same day several hundred members of guilds addressed a letter to the Council, telling them that 'Christian magistrates

[1] *Zwinglii Opp.* viii. 246.

could no more be exonerated for tolerating false prophets and other offenders than a mother who should allow her daughters to frequent bad company on the plea that God would protect them. If the Mass was an abomination, why should they, for the sake of the priests, bring down the wrath of God on themselves and their children? Schism in religion destroyed faith and trust in daily life. Therefore the papists must be got rid of once for all.'[1]

As the Council, on receipt of this letter, did not speedily enough form a decision in favour of the innovators, a tumult was raised at the beginning of February. From 800 to 1,000 rebels besieged the arsenal, the corn market, and the adjoining streets, set up cannon, and 'held negotiations with the Council.' And before the Council could say yes or no, 300 men 'repaired to the cathedral church on February 9, and destroyed all the pictures and images with great fury and much blasphemous language. They took down a large crucifix and fastened a long rope to it, and several boys of eight, ten, and twelve years of age dragged it to the corn market singing: "Ah! thou poor Judas," with many other words of derision. Others among them said: "Art thou God, then defend thyself; art thou man, then bleed." And then they dragged the crucifix to the workhouse and burnt it.' The statues and images all lay scattered about in the church, one without a head, another without arms; it was just like a great battle-field.[2] Under the leadership of the public executioner '400 vandals' burst into the remaining churches on the following day, and destroyed the most exquisite works

[1] Pt. Ochs, *Geschichte der Stadt und Landschaft Basel*, v. 616.

[2] *Tagebuch eines Basler Carthäuser-Mönchs*; see Jarcke, pp. 531–532

of art, altars, statues, carvings, and pictures. The *débris* of all these monuments of German art and ancient piety were gathered up together and burnt in twelve great heaps in front of the cathedral church.[1] 'A very melancholy spectacle for the Catholics,' wrote Œcolampadius in a jubilant letter to Capito. 'Well might they have wept tears of blood, so gruesome were the proceedings against their idols, and for grief over it all the Mass expired. My opponents denounce me,' he goes on ironically, 'as the mover of all this sedition.'

The Council found itself 'overmastered.' 'The burgomaster and many others of the councillors and the burghers withdrew. Afterwards the Council sent their workpeople into the little town to remove the pictures and images with care and discretion; for the little town of Kleinbasel was at that time staunch in the old faith. In the Carthusian convent they did not only smash up the pictures and images, but tore up also all the manuscripts in the church and in the cells.' They did 1,000 florins' worth of damage to the cloister.[2]

A few weeks after the perpetration of the atrocities at Basle, on February 25, 1529, the Council of St. Gall, in order to curry favour with the populace, formed the resolution 'to lay hands on and burn the idols in the cathedral church.' Scarcely had the burgomaster, Vadian, made the announcement to the congregation assembled in the church, when 'everybody fell upon the idols. All the altars were smashed

[1] Ochs, v. 636–656; Hottinger's *Helvetische Kirchengeschichte*, iii. 44.

[2] *Chronik* in Jarcke, pp. 532–533 (*Basler Chroniken*, i. 448). See note XIII., Appendix.

to pieces, and the pictures torn down from them; walls and pillars were pulled down and knocked to pieces with axes and hammers.' 'It was like a great battle,' writes Kessler, a Protestant; 'such tumult, such vociferation, such an uproar beneath the high vaults! In one single hour nothing was left whole or in its place; no burden seemed too heavy to lift, no height too inaccessible to get at the idols. . . . Thus the heavy loads of idol stone and wood, with their niches and pedestals, fell in all directions in a thousand pieces and splinters. How many costly and fine works of art were wrecked! The reredos behind the high altar cost Abbot Francisco within ten years 1,500 florins for painting, and as much or more for carving. The *débris* were brought to the Brül on forty wagons; there at once a fire was started, and all was burnt. The pyre measured 43 feet in length and breadth, whereby the size of the fire may be estimated.' After the beautiful frescoes, representing the lives of St. Gall and St. Othmar, had been smeared over with white-wash, the iconoclasts burst into the chapels, where they proceeded with equal fury and violence. The Chapel of St. John was turned into a workshop, that of St. James into a limekiln. From the metal of the looted bells the Council had a great cannon cast, which they christened 'Rohraff.'

At a federal assembly at Wyl, the cantons of Lucerne, Schwyz, and Glarus, protectors of the Abbey of St. Gall, complained of the arbitrary proceedings of the Council, 'which were particularly reprehensible, as this abbey did not stand within the domain of the town, and possessed many chartered liberties.' But the councillors of St. Gall declared themselves fully

justified in their proceedings: 'The minster was their public church, and for this reason they had removed and burnt the idols, in order that the peasants might be calmed down and the abbot saved from worse insults.' If the abbot would not appoint a priest who would preach the pure word of God, 'as that word was now known and made manifest,' they themselves would appoint such a one.[1]

The clergy of the abbey were unarmed and defenceless, and against the defenceless the method of procedure everywhere in Switzerland, according to the newly established principle, was: 'The Gospel justifies all things.'

When the poor nuns of St. Catharinenthal, near Diessenhofen, appealed to 'divine, federal, and imperial justice' against the armed bands of iconoclasts who invaded their convent, they were answered: 'We are the embodiment of justice and law; the holy Gospel admits no rights whatever.' 'These troops behaved in the convent in such a manner,' wrote the prioress and the nuns, 'that it is no wonder we were often withered with fear and anxiety.' Envoys from Zürich, Berne, and other cantons, together with some of the preachers, endeavoured to bring the nuns round to the new faith. 'But we all of us,' said the Sisters in a memorial, 'stood our ground firmly, and said: "Our parents had placed us in the convent to serve God in this holy Order, and we are determined not to forsake our Order, but to live and die in it." Then they tore off our nuns' garments by force, and threw them in a heap on the ground. After which the enemies stuffed the

[1] *Eidgenössische Abschiede*, iv. 1, 81.

veils and scapulars (shoulder-bands) into a sack, and carried them round the town with jeers and mockery, and then made a great fire and burnt everything.'[1]

Zwinglianism also made its way at an early date into the German free cities.

At Strassburg the members of the Council had declared in 1523 that as 'plain unlearned burgher-folk' they could not presume to form a decision in matters of the faith; after the arrival, however, of the Zwinglian preachers, Bucer and Capito, who had begun their ministry in the summer of 1523, a rapid change set in. In September 1523, the dean of the Chapter of St. Thomas was already complaining that, by reason of the slanderous preaching, the lives of the clergy were no longer safe;[2] in 1524 iconoclasm began its ravages.[3] Since the middle of 1525 the preachers, backed up by infuriated masses of the people, had been carrying out the most violently arbitrary measures against the Catholics, who still constituted the majority of the population: the Catholic church-service had been entirely suppressed. A Town Council's decree of July 1525 pronounced the Mass to be 'a detestable, blasphemous, satanic invention.' The fulfilment of their ordinary religious duties was reckoned as a crime in the Catholics, and severely punished. In

[1] *Denkschrift*, in the archives of Swiss Reformation History, iii. 101–114.

[2] Paulus, *Strassburger Reformatoren und Gewissensfreiheit*, p. 53; Daum's *Magistrat und Reformation*, p. 27. Compare pp. 95, 199.

[3] See our statements, vol. ii. p. 516 ff. (*Engl. Transl.*). On November 23, 1524, the Strassburg preachers wrote to Luther: 'Idola, senatus auctoritate, e templis submota sunt, sed tantum augustiora. Speramus, paulo post omnia saltem in aliquibus templis amovenda. Tacemus, quod Antichristiani in ignominiam Evangelii impensius ea nunc colant.' Kapp, ii. 652.

1526 the Council decreed that any attempt to light a candle before the holy Sacrament or 'other idolatrous images.' should be punished by a fine of thirty florins. Because the celebration of the holy Mass was still continued in the cathedral choir, and the Council had not put a stop to 'their abomination,' one of the preachers shouted to the people from his pulpit that, 'like as the Lord had driven the money-changers out of the Temple, so the people must burst into the choir, armed with cords, and drive out the priests.' It was in vain that the Catholic burghers protested that 'they did not compel their opponents to attend the Mass; and therefore peaceful citizens, to whom the faith of their fathers was dear, ought to be allowed to carry on their own form of worship without fear of disturbance from offensive intruders.' At Strassburg, as elsewhere, the Catholics were entirely deprived of the service of the Mass, the sacraments, and the last consolations of the dying. In the year 1529 the Council ordered all remaining altars, images, and crosses to be broken in pieces, and soon after forbade all attendance at Mass, even outside the town, as well as the administration of the sacraments, on pain of fines or imprisonment. Several churches and convents were pulled down, and the stones and sepulchral monuments were used for the extension of the town fortifications.[1]

The Council, in self-defence, declared it to be 'the principal duty of all Christian magistrates to preserve the true worship of God in its integrity, and to see that all false doctrine, all that was misleading or blasphemous, was extirpated.' Altars and images had

[1] Fuller details in De Bussière's *Histoire de l'Etablissement du Protestantisme à Strasbourg*, pp. 241–364, 443–450.

been removed because 'many ignorant people had prayed to them for help and grace with manifest idolatry,' and 'because Almighty God had forbidden the toleration of such images and altars.'

In the new 'Church of Strassburg,' as at Zürich, baptism and the Lord's Supper were nothing more than outward ceremonies, and Bucer did not even exclude from the community those who preferred postponing the ceremony of baptism.[1] But nowhere among the people did the new church awaken any love or enthusiasm. 'I understand the Gospel well enough,' was the cry of the people, as Capito laments in a letter to Farel; 'I can read it for myself; preach to those who want to hear you.' Similar regrets were expressed by Bedrot and Wolfhart concerning the fruitlessness of their preaching. The pulpits were left empty, 'the Scriptures were treated with open contempt, and the most sacred things were jeered at.' Even Bucer, the actual author of the innovations, was forced in course of time to acknowledge that 'with us in Strassburg there is scarcely any Church at all; there is no respect for the Word; no one receives the sacrament.'[2] 'Depravity,' he says in 1528, 'increases continually among the followers of "the Gospel;"' and ten years later, 'The majority of people despise and neglect the whole of the Church service, the Word and the sacraments, the comfort of absolution and of prayer, in short the whole fellowship of the Church.' 'Only too true,' he confesses openly, 'is the reproach levelled

[1] F. W. Röhrich's *Zur Geschichte der strassburgischen Wiedertäufer*, &c., ii. 328; De Bussière's *Histoire de l'Etablissement*, &c., p. 402.

[2] Herminjard, v. 60, and Paulus, *Strassburger Reformatoren*, &c p. 61 ff.

against us that while we condemn lustily the prayers, fasts, and other Church usages hitherto in vogue, and neither pray nor fast ourselves, we are losing all piety and watchfulness, and leading nothing but sensual, easy lives.'[1]

A state of things similar to that at Strassburg developed itself at Constance. On March 10, 1528, the Catholic faith was altogether interdicted there by the Council. All who complained of the plundering of their churches and convents, and the prohibition of their church service, were met by the Council with the answer, 'There are no rights whatever beyond those laid down in the Gospel as it is now understood.' When the Abbot of Petershausen, in his quality of imperial prelate, referred to the Emperor and to King Ferdinand, under whose protection he and his monastery stood, burgomaster Zeller remarked to him: 'In this matter rights are of no avail, because it is God's will that all idolatry should be abolished.' Altars were smashed up because the Saviour, at the Last Supper with His disciples, had sat not at an altar but at a table. Organs were removed as being works of idolatry. The destruction of statues and pictures was, by order of the Council, to be carried on noiselessly, 'without loud crashing and noise.' Monstrances, chalices, and other church treasures were to be sent to the mint.

After 'the Gospel' had been preached at Constance for a certain number of years, Johann Jung wrote from Petershausen to the preacher, Ambrosius Blarer, at Esslingen: 'You are, I am sure, aware of

[1] Döllinger's *Reformation*, ii. 26–35.

the state of things which exists with us and our neighbours. In my home (Constance) the preachers are at loggerheads with the Council, and consequently anybody may proceed in any manner he likes against the Gospel with impunity. You know what are the burgomaster's opinions in this respect; the Council, however, is of quite another mind; among the people there are few who do not openly cry out against the Gospel; few who ever listen to it; still fewer to whom it gives any pleasure. Hence it comes to pass that all grievances and offences are set down, not to the account of our sins, but to the account of the Gospel.'[1]

In Suabia, Zwinglianism 'attached to itself year by year an increasing number of followers enlightened by the spirit of God.'

In the imperial city of Ulm it was Zwingli's enthusiastic disciple, Conrad Sam, who gained over the people by his preaching. At Augsburg Michael Cellarius stirred up an iconoclastic disturbance in 1528, and desecrated and destroyed altars and churches.[2] At Memmingen, in the same year, the town preacher, Schenk, declaimed against the Mass—which was to be fled from like a pestilence—against images and organs, as works of the devil. The docile Council, in consequence, caused the beautiful organ of St. Martin's to be broken up, and to a burgher who had said 'They might as well leave it standing, and if they did not want to use it they could lock it up,' they administered such a

[1] Letter of November 15, 1531, in Th. Pressel, *Ambrosius Blaurer's, des schwäbischen Reformators, Leben und Schriften*, pp. 208–209.

[2] C. Th. Keim's *Die Reformation der Freistadt Ulm*, pp. 222–223; *Schwäbische Reformationsgeschichte*, p. 68.

severe reprimand that 'it nearly knocked his head off.'

Memmingen was the first Suabian town in which the Mass was abolished. The news reached Wittenberg that 'the sacrament of the altar was quite done away with, or set aside, as an unnecessary, or an optional, ceremony.' 'It is grievous and terrible to me to hear this,' said Luther on May 21, 1529, in an admonitory letter to the Council. 'This is, alas! what the devil was all along aiming at, when he first attacked this sacrament—namely, to get rid of it altogether and drive Christ out. The devil, having been allowed to get in so far, will not rest till he has made things even worse.'[1] But after all Catholic forms of worship had been laid under ban, the Council still had 'the hardest task of all with the Grey Sisters in the convent of Maria-Garten, who met all attempts at turning them from their faith, all coercion and calumny, with the courage of unalterable conviction and the calm of a good conscience. The whole band of them, thirteen in number, held unswervingly to their vows.'[2]

'If the spiritual rulers were to attack the potentates and their councils and officials in their offices,' so preached a Memmingen chaplain on Christmas Day 1529, 'it would be looked upon as insurrection, and would not be tolerated; and this would be right, for the rulers hold and wield the sword in the place of God. But that the secular authorities, with their councils and jurists, should attack the preachers in their offices, and dictate to them what they may and what they may not

[1] De Wette, iii. 453–454.

[2] See the report from the 'Hauschronik des Klosters,' in the *Histor.-polit. Bl.* iv. 784–794.

preach, this seems to be thought right and legitimate. The secular council will not tolerate any reformers or *tutors* on its bench; but Christ and His servants are to let themselves be reformed and instructed by every squireen and burgomaster. The new preachers are so indulgent to the civil powers that the latter dictate to the preachers what, whom, how, when, and where they are to teach and punish. If any one should refuse to give heed to these directions, the authorities have the power to deprive him of his office, and to denounce him publicly as a turbulent, cantankerous offender; the civil authorities are also privileged to set themselves up as hereditary and feudal lords over ecclesiastical property, and in this respect the new preachers give them doughty assistance, in order that their teaching and heresies may spread all the faster: for where formerly seven or eight priests were maintained, there is now scarcely one novice, and the magistrates appropriate all the rest of the funds. They close the lips of the old Catholic preachers, but the ranters and misleaders, on the contrary, go free and unfettered. Christ, forsooth, must go to Pilate to learn what He is to preach and to teach!'[1]

The discord in religion, the rancour and acrimony of spirit, and the general distracted state of the empire were fomented and increased year by year to an almost incredible degree by the innumerable theological sects which had neither any complete and definite code of teaching, nor any 'church organism with recognised head and members.' 'Each individual is a free and fully authorised judge of all those who wish to instruct him, and each one is inwardly taught by God alone;'

[1] Unold's *Reformationsgeschichte der Stadt Memmingen*, pp. 78–79.

such was the challenge thrown out by the Separatists with their doctrine 'communicated to them as "the pure Gospel,"' not only against the divine authority of the old Church, but also against the new State churches established by Lutheran and Zwinglian magistrates. In the opinion of most of the Separatists, the Lutheran and Zwinglian theologians were worse enemies and corruptors of 'true Christianity' than the Pope himself and the Catholic clergy. The new doctrine of 'justification by faith only' they regarded as a special source of corruption, for it taught mankind of 'a honey-sweet Christ, who had done and suffered all things in their stead,' and under the guise of evangelical freedom it ministered to the 'licence of the flesh,' and made men shameless and insolent.

Among these Separatists there stood out prominently the numerous parties which were designated under the collective name of Anabaptists.[1]

If the efficacy of the sacraments depended entirely, as Luther taught, on the faith of the recipient, why, asked these sects, was the baptism of children still retained, especially as there was no mention of it anywhere in the Bible, which, according to Luther, was the sole fountain of faith? They insisted, therefore, on the abolition of infant baptism, and they established amongst themselves, 'as a seal and outward symbol of their

[1] See our statements, vol. ii. 411 ff. (*Engl. Trans.* 110 ff.), and the admirable remarks about the Anabaptists by Möhler, pp. 459–479 C. A. Cornelius, *Die niederländischen Wiedertäufer*, &c. ii. 1–98; Jörg, p. 657 ff.; Jarcke, pp. 431–448; J. v. Beck's 'Die Geschichtsbücher der Wiedertäufer in Oesterreich (*Fontes rer. Austr.*). See also *Deutsche Geschichte im* 16. *Jahrhundert*, &c. ii. 82 ff., by G. Egelhaaf, who rightly remarks that no one had hitherto succeeded in showing in detail the connection between the Anabaptists and the sects of the later middle ages.

membership in the true Christian community,' a second baptismal rite. The true Christian community, they taught, consisted of 'the elect of God,' of souls 'enlightened by the Holy Ghost and favoured by the grace of God with peculiar illuminations.'

Not the dead, outward letter of the Bible, but the inward light, was the one source of divine revelation. The whole spiritual life of the Anabaptists centred in these 'secret revelations.' Like Luther and Zwingli they repudiated 'a special priesthood,' with its essential characteristics; and like them they refused to recognise the clergy as a separate class, instituted by Christ and distinct from the laity. But they also rejected the 'office' of pastor and preacher, and set themselves altogether against the appointment of fixed preachers in special places, declaring that they would only tolerate 'personally enlightened' proclaimers of the kingdom of God. All who were enrolled and sealed with the sign of the covenant must, as soon as they recognised the voice of the Spirit within them, come forward as proclaimers of the divine revelations, and seek to win fresh brothers and sisters. These inspired preachers were not to be bound by time or place, least of all to be limited to 'outward churches and temples, for temples were the "houses of idols."'

In this last respect the Anabaptists went a step further than those adherents of the State Church in Switzerland and Germany, who had merely swept the temples clean of altars, images, and organs. They could appeal to Luther, indeed, for defence of their opinions, for in his sermons, preached publicly at Wittenberg, and disseminated in several printed editions, he had said: 'The lightning generally strikes churches

in preference to all other buildings, because they are more offensive to God than any others; and for this reason that in no den of murderers, in no common brothel, do so much blasphemy, so much slaughter of souls, so much ruin of religion take place as in churches. It would be well, therefore, if all the churches in the world were once for all demolished or turned into ordinary houses, and if preaching, praying, baptising, and other Christian functions were performed under the open sky.'[1]

The Kingdom of Heaven, announced by these Anabaptists, was to bring with it a complete remodelling of the whole organisation of ecclesiastical and civil life and society. 'After the extirpation of all godless persons,' the 'Kingdom of Christ' will be established on earth; that is to say, a community of Christians without external laws or rulers, governed and bound together only by 'the sacred motive power' of the moral law which is written in the heart of every human being. In this kingdom of the perfect children of God, all wars and hostilities will cease, all men and women will be equal, all things will be in common: nobody will set up claims to any privileges, nobody will possess personal property, and there will be no more 'sinful marriage,' but pure fruit will be begotten without the lust of the flesh.

Since the true faith must needs produce holy fruit, the Swiss Anabaptists went on to say, the teaching of the new preachers of the Lutheran and Zwinglian schools must be objectionable and unchristian. Its effect was merely to introduce carnal licence, and to hand over

[1] *Collected Works*, vii. 121, 131, 222, 330.

Christian liberty to the arm of civil authority. Their preaching was heretical and self-seeking; they had only the spirit of fear and covetousness. This doctrine was flagrantly opposed to the Word of God. Faith in Christ, unaccompanied with works and suffering on the part of the believer, can never procure salvation. For the Lord has said: 'He that taketh not his cross and followeth after me is not worthy of me.'[1]

'These preachers,' said the Strassburg Anabaptists, 'are only fit for the work of destroying, and are quite incapable even of reorganising a Christian community, still less of constructing one. All that they have taught is to demolish and break in pieces images, altars, and churches, to drive monks and nuns out of their cloisters, and to do violence to consciences.'[2]

'The new gospel,' says the Anabaptist preacher, Melchior Rink, who had had a firm footing at Hersfeld, in Hesse, since 1528, 'is a hypocritical, humbugging religion.' At first Luther had been filled with the spirit of God, but now he had become the real Antichrist; he and his followers were leading people to the devil.[3]

The Anabaptists, with their expectation of a millennium on earth, their dreams of an ideal community, of a kingdom made up of righteous and saintly spirits, inflamed the hearts of countless multitudes among the people, and inspired them with a patience and a fortitude, under all manner of persecution and punishment, which were the wonder of contemporaries.

'We have been witnesses in our own times,' wrote

[1] See note XIV., Appendix.

[2] Cornelius, ii. 83–85.

[3] Schmidt's *Justus Menius, der Reformator Thüringens*, i. 136, 141–142.

Conrad Braun, assessor to the Imperial Chamber, 'that the most cruel punishments of imprisonment, starvation, burning, drowning, and so forth, have not been able to deter the Anabaptists, and convert them from their errors. I myself have many a time seen young men and young women plunge into the fire singing and rejoicing, and I must confess that all my life long nothing has ever touched me more deeply.'[1]

'The Anabaptists made such rapid progress,' says Sebastian Franck, 'that their teaching soon spread through the whole country, and they rapidly gained an immense following, baptised many thousands, and attached to themselves many excellent souls. For they taught, indeed, nothing but love, faith, and the Cross; they showed themselves patient and submissive in much suffering; shared their food with one another as a sign of unity and love; helped each other with lending and giving; taught that all things should be in common, and called each other brethren. They are treated in all directions with great cruelty, taken prisoners and tortured with sword, fire, water, branding, scourging, and many other punishments, so

[1] Hortleder's *Ursachen*, p. 217. They were looked upon as 'martyres daemonis.' 'Atrocissime caesi alacres et ridentes illa perferebant,' Raynald, *ad a.* 1527, no. 79. 'Secta nova anabaptistarum,' wrote Luther, on December 31, 1527, to J. Probst, 'mire crescit magna specie viventium, magna audacia per ignem et aquam morientium.' Again, in a letter to Joh. Hess: 'Similia geruntur in Bavaria, nec ferro nec igne possunt cohiberi, deserunt uxores, liberos, familias et facultates. Sic furit Satan hac hora, velut novissima.' De Wette, iii. 253–263. On April 14, 1528, thirty-five Anabaptists, six of them women, on being expelled from the town, joyfully parted with their families, and went through the town gates with song and jubilation. (Jörg, f. 11.) An Anabaptist in prison at Grüningen was ill for six months. His body was so much swollen up to the neck that he could neither stand nor walk. Yet he refused to leave the prison, saying he preferred to die among his friends rather than outside in the castle. (Egli, 1486.)

that, according to some, about 2,000 of them have been put to death in many places. And they suffered like martyrs, with patience and steadfastness. I am firmly convinced that there have been many pious and sincere people among those sects, and that many, both among teachers and disciples, have really hungered after God.'

The aim of many, however, and especially of those 'bound in secret brotherhood,' and of those 'initiated in the true mysteries,' was to realise their dream of a perfect world by means of the forcible destruction of the existing order of things, the extirpation of the 'godless and idolatrous,' and the introduction of 'community of goods.'[1] Many of them, in their wild fanaticism, committed acts of the grossest extravagance and crime; introduced community of wives, and boasted that they had been urged by divine revelation to such terrible deeds as the murder of their own brothers.

The persecution of the Anabaptists began in Zürich. The Council decreed that all the inhabitants, new-religionist Separatists as well as Catholics, should conform unconditionally to the newly established State religion, and should attend the sermons of the Zwinglian preachers. It was in vain that the Separatists appealed to the free right of Scripture interpretation, to which the Council itself had appealed against the Catholics when instituting the State Church. 'I beg that you will not do violence to my conscience,' said Hans Müller von Medikon, 'for faith is a free gift of God's. Belief is not a thing to be taken up like a stone.'[2]

[1] See our statements, ii. 411–414 (*Engl. Transl.* iv. 110–115).
[2] Egli's *Züricher Wiedertäufer*, p. 86.

Another Anabaptist, Hans Hollinger, cast it in Zwingli's teeth that he preached one thing one day and another the next; for years he had been teaching that young children should not be baptised, and now he insisted on infant baptism.[1] 'We are justified in departing from the preaching of the preachers,' said the Anabaptists, 'since they have fallen away from the doctrine which they taught first of all out of the Gospel, and are now living and acting in opposition to their first instructions. They are now, under Christian semblance, wielding the sword of the secular law, instead of the spiritual sword and authority, in matters of faith and religion, a practice which the evangelical preachers have long inveighed against and denounced as tyranny.'[2]

In the year 1526 the Town Council issued the most stringent injunctions against this sect. It was proclaimed everywhere that all Anabaptists who refused to conform to the old faith 'were to be shut up in the New Tower and fed on dry bread and water.' No one was to be allowed to visit them, and even in case of illness no change was to be made in their prison conditions: 'they were to be left to die and rot[3] in the tower.' Their wives and families also were to be treated in the same manner. Backsliders were to be punished with drowning. All persons were to attend their parish churches; Anabaptists were not to be received into any house whatever, nor was any food or drink to be given to them. The penalties en-

[1] Egli's *Züricher Wiedertäufer*, p. 26. Zwingli says himself that for a time he was of opinion that it was better not to baptise children till they had come to a reasonable age (*Zwinglii Opp.* 2ª, p. 245).

[2] Bullinger, *Der Wiedertäufer Ursprung*, f. 250.

[3] The word 'to rot' was afterwards cancelled.

joined by the Town Council of Zürich were 'drowning, burning, or beheading,' according as it seemed advisable.[1] On January 5, 1527, Felix Mang was condemned to be drowned, 'as an example and warning to others,' because he had defied the municipal authorities, and severed himself and his followers from the Christian community, and had attempted to organise independent sects. He was to be 'thrown into the water, bound hand and foot with cords, and left to die and rot.' His goods and chattels were to be seized.[2]

The penalty of drowning was extended to all those, whether Anabaptists or not, 'who, to the prejudice of general order and Christian unity, should hold large gatherings in houses or other places for their preaching, teaching, and heretical proceedings.' 'It is our will,' the Council proclaimed, 'that wherever they be found, whether singly or in companies, they shall be drowned to death, and that none of them shall be spared.'[3]

After the suppression of the Anabaptist community in Zürich, the new doctrines had spread first into the adjoining counties, and then into South Germany and Austria.[4] In the years 1526 and 1527 there was already a perfect network of small communities which reached from the Rhine to Moravia, from Hesse into Etschland.[5] At Esslingen the number of Anabaptists had grown since 1526 to 200 men and women; in the

[1] Egli's *Actensammlung*, pp. 444–445, No. 934, 936, 937.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 529, No. 1109; Egli's *Züricher Wiedertäufer*, pp. 61–62.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 514, No. 1071.

[4] Fuller details on the spread of the Anabaptists in Switzerland in Nitsche p. 47 ff. See C. Müller's *Geschichte der bernischen Täufer.*

[5] Cornelius, ii. 43. At Ulm there were Baptists as early as 1524 (Keim's *Ulm*, p. 265).

neighbouring villages the majority of the inhabitants had received baptism a second time.[1] At Ratisbon also, in 1528, the community of Anabaptists counted upwards of 200 members.[2]

The larger imperial cities were indeed, as a rule, the actual gathering-places of the 'Brethren;' their most important centre at that time was Augsburg, where they found adherents even among the highest of the nobility. More than 1100 persons of all classes are said to have held nocturnal meetings in three 'summer-houses' there in the year 1527. They called themselves 'the Augsburg new Christians,' and adopted as their creed a confession of faith drawn up by their leaders, Johann Denk, Ludwig Hetzer, Hans Hut, and others, in which private property was declared to be sinful, and a complete subversion of all existing social conditions was announced as imminent. 'Within two years' (so ran one of the Articles) 'the Lord will come down from heaven, and will fight with the princes of the world, and the godless ones will be destroyed, but the holy ones and the elect of God will rule with the Lord on earth.' Missives were despatched to the Brethren at a distance, and apostles sent out 'to preach the kingdom of God and to baptise.'[3] In Suabia William Reublin, of Rottenburg, on the Neckar, attempted to introduce the new gospel by the slaughter of all unbelievers or heathens. At Whitsuntide, or

[1] Keim's *Esslingen*, pp. 28–29.

[2] K. Th. Gemeiner's *Geschichte der Kirchenreformation in Regensburg*, p. 56.

[3] Jörg, pp. 710, 677–682; Keller, pp. 33–86. John Denk, on account of his great influence, was called 'the Pope of the Baptisers, the God of the Anabaptists' (Keller, p. 37). Hetzer was beheaded for adultery in 1529 at Constance.

Christmas, 1528, the Anabaptists of Hegensberg were to march out and assemble near Reutlingen, where they were to be joined by reinforcements from Moravia, Augsburg, and Zürich, to get hold of arms in the towns, and then, 'in the name of the one ruler in heaven, to massacre as heathens all who held different creeds, or to compel them to prepare the way for Christ's return.'

In the Kraichgau and in Upper Suabia the Anabaptists collected in companies of from fifty to a hundred persons, preached about the kingdom of heaven, and prophesied that a speedy downfall of all secular rulers would be brought about by the Turks. In the bishopric of Würzburg and throughout the whole of Franconia Jörg von Passau laboured with the most zealous activity up to the time of his execution in January 1528. 'The end of the world,' he taught, 'would take place in about three years and a half from the time of the peasant-war, when the Turks would come and punish all godless people.'[1]

Many of the sectarian leaders placed their hopes on the advent of the Turks. 'When the Turk came into the land' the Anabaptists of Franconia, Suabia, and other places would make common cause with him, and 'all who were left alive by this same Turk, be it princes, monks, parsons, or noblemen, would be put to death, and thenceforth there would be no other ruler than God alone; or else they would choose themselves a king from their own ranks.' The Turks 'would demolish all ecclesiastical and secular rulers,' preached the furrier, Augustin Bader, a friend of the Anabaptist leaders Denk, Hetzer, and Hut; and then

[1] Jörg, p. 682.

there would arise a new kingdom of Christians, Jews, heathens, and Turks. Over this kingdom he, Augustin Bader, the prophet, 'would be king; and after him his young son, and his descendants on and on, who would rule on the earth for a thousand years; each of them was to have twelve servants, as there had been twelve tribes in Israel, but for the rest all things would be in common, and everybody would have to work.' A set of royal insignia in silver-gilt was prepared beforehand for the Prophet Bader: crown and sceptre, dagger and chain, besides a complete suit of state robes. Several Jews from Worms, Leipheim, and Günzburg were also enrolled in this 'mystery;' envoys were sent about to discover the best place for the Prophet to await the advent of the Turks. But the Prophet was arrested at a nocturnal meeting at Blaubeuren, and 'because he would not desist from his project, and because he contemplated rebellion and the association of all the Anabaptists,' he was tortured with red-hot pincers on the market-place at Stuttgart, beheaded, and burnt.[1]

At Augsburg, in the first half of the year 1528, about 170 Anabaptists of both sexes were either imprisoned or expelled by order of the new-religionist Town Council. Some were driven out of the town with scourges, and burnt through the cheeks with hot irons; many were beheaded; some had their tongues cut out.[2] The Baptists named 'twelve brethren' who had suffered martyrdom at Augsburg "by knife, fire, and sword.' In February 1528 the Suabian League appointed 100 troopers in each of its four districts to

[1] Jörg, pp. 685–693.

[2] See the catalogue in Jörg, pp. 710–711.

track out the Baptists, and invested the captains with unconditional authority to have their prisoners executed at once and without trial. Duke William of Bavaria issued the terrible order: 'Those who recant are to be beheaded; those who do not recant are to be burnt.' No legal trial was accorded the wretched victims in Bavaria, but 'their sentence was pronounced, and they were forthwith executed.' 'For in their case,' said the ducal secretary, Andrew Perneder, 'the temporal law is clear.'

In the Tyrol, which completely swarmed with Anabaptists, disaffected ranters, and violators of the public peace, King Ferdinand issued no less than ten penal mandates in the year 1527. This fact alone is convincing evidence of the extent to which the sects had spread, and of the importance attached by the Government to this social-religious movement.[1] 'I believe that in the Tyrol and Görz alone,' writes Georg Kirchmair in 1531, '1000 people have been burnt, beheaded, and drowned for professing Anabaptism.' For this sect was quite remarkable for its stubbornness. When a priest was saying Mass, they would rush into the church (although large congregations were present), take the chalice, sacrament, and paten from the officiating priest, and trample them all under foot, saying that infant baptism was useless, for baptism must not take place until faith had come; that the Mass was witchcraft, and the Holy Eucharist a mere nothing; that the people were being deceived; that Christ had died for nobody but Adam and Eve; and that nobody

[1] J. v. Kripp's *Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Wiedertäufer in Tyrol*, pp. 28-38.

should be set up in authority.[1] In the rest of the Austrian dominions also the Anabaptist heresies, like those of Luther, gained a multitude of followers.[2] The stern penal edict, however, issued by Ferdinand I. from Buda on August 20, 1527, against new heresies of all descriptions, was only enforced in full severity against the Anabaptists. Balthasar Hubmaier, the man to whose unwearied activity the firm establishment and extensive spread of Anabaptism in Austria were chiefly due, was burnt to death at Vienna on March 20, 1528. After this the executions of Anabaptists in the Austrian dominions grew more and more numerous, without any decrease, however, in the number of converts. In this same year, 1528, Ferdinand I., rightly recognising that force could not avail in the matter, ordered a general visitation of churches to take place through the whole Austrian territory. The prosecution of this measure brought many distressing facts to light, and revealed a lamentable want of good and efficient Catholic clergymen. Ferdinand I. endeavoured in vain to remedy the evil.[3]

The Emperor also issued a mandate on January 4, 1528, to the effect that, according to ecclesiastical and secular law, the penalty of death was to be inflicted on the Anabaptists; misbelievers were to be warned by injunctions and sermons, but the actual instigators would be proceeded against with capital punishment and other suitable penalties. 'In this mandate,' wrote Johann von Schwarzenberg, on January 31, 1523, to

[1] G. Kirchmair's 'Denkwürdigkeiten seiner Zeit, 1519-1533,' in *Fontes rerum Austriacarum*, first part.

[2] Raupach, *Evangel. Oesterreich.* 1, Beilage 6, p. 60 ff.

[3] A. Huber's *Geschichte Oesterreichs*, iv. 99 ff.

the Lutheran Council of Ansbach-Baireuth, 'you will observe a fine Christian spirit of moderation, for it is not only by fire and execution, as in some places, that the sectarians are to be put down, but they are to be proceeded against from the pulpit as well by Christian preachers, and distinctions made in their punishments according to individual deserts.'[1] By a later mandate capital punishment was confined to the teachers among the *baptisers*, and, among the *baptised*, to those who continued obdurate, or who relapsed into their errors after having been converted from them.

Among the Lutheran princes, Philip of Hesse was distinguished by his greater lenience towards the Anabaptists. He limited their punishment to severe imprisonment; for, as he argued, 'if they were punished with death, then Jews and Papists, who were the worst blasphemers of Christ, ought also to suffer by the sword.' The Elector of Saxony, on the other hand, enforced capital punishment. The Anabaptist doctrine that men could be made righteous without the aid of the ministry and services of the Church, was, he said, destructive of all church organisation, and must be punished like other insurrectionary opinions. The ruling prince of the land was in duty bound to protect and preserve the public ministration of the Church, and he could therefore with a clear conscience use the sword against all those who persisted in declaring that 'our rites of baptism and preaching are not Christian, and our Church, consequently, not the Church of Christ.'[2]

It was thus that the Elector had been instructed by the Saxon theologians—by Luther, who denounced the Anabaptists as the emissaries of Satan, as well

[1] Jörg, p. 712.

[2] See note XV., Appendix.

as by Melanchthon. 'Heretics,' wrote Luther, Melanchthon, Bugenhagen, and Creutziger to the Landgrave of Hesse, on June 5, 1536, must be chastised with corporal punishment—if necessary, put to death. For it is the duty of the ruling powers 'to prevent and to punish false doctrine, improper church-services, and heresy in the territories and in the persons over whom they have jurisdiction.' It was not only for preaching against secular government that the Anabaptists were to be punished with death, but also for propagating false, offensive doctrines concerning infant baptism, original sin, and unnecessary separation.[1] 'Just as the civil government,' said the Lutheran theologian Brenz, in defence of the punishment of heretics, 'has power to prevent any guild from being formed where none already exists, so it has also power to prevent seditious religious sects from banding together within its jurisdiction.' 'If a congregation be established outside of the existing community, its legitimacy must be proved by public miracles.' Now it is said that the preachers of the Gospel are evil-doers because they work no miracles. But here the question is one of office, not of teaching: the preachers are regularly appointed by the authorities, and therefore require no miracles. 'If every sect is to be allowed its doctrines and ceremonies, why then does Scripture teach that no man ought to follow his own opinions? Why should there be a ruling authority at all?'[2]

[1] This document (incomplete, wrongly dated, and purporting to proceed from Melanchthon, in the *Corp. Reform.* iii. 198–200), has been published from the original in Hochhuth's 'Landgraf Philipp und die Wiedertäufer,' in the *Zeitschrift für histor. Theologie*, xxviii. (1858), 560–565. See Paulus's 'Melanchthon und die Gewissensfreiheit' in the *Katholik*, 1897, i. 540 ff.

[2] Hartman and Jäger, i. 296–297, 299.

Above all, Luther insisted, 'Division in religious opinion must, if possible, be avoided in one and the same board of councillors. And if they are not orthodox believers, they must, at any rate, for the sake of the ten commandments, be compelled to go to church, so that at least they may learn the outward rules of obedience.' [1]

'Thus we see that in many districts of the Empire there was much discord and error in the holy faith, and many new teachers arose, with new, misleading, and blasphemous doctrines, and went about through towns and villages scattering dissension. And there was also little peace and unity among the Estates of the Empire. For the discord in religion made peace impossible everywhere. Above all, the banished Duke of Würtemberg was bent on stirring up war in the Empire, in order to help himself back. And the Landgrave of Hesse, with others besides, was aiding and abetting him. The Landgrave equipped himself extensively in the year 1528, and he carried on constant manœuvres and intrigues for the augmentation of his sovereignty and the suppression of the power of the bishops. And it was said of him that he meant to be the German King.'

[1] Letter to Levin Metzsch, of August 26, 1526 (De Wette, iii. 498).

CHAPTER VI

RUPTURE OF THE 'LANDFRIEDE' (PUBLIC PEACE) AND FEARS THAT A WAR OF RELIGION WOULD BE BROUGHT ABOUT BY THE LANDGRAVE PHILIP OF HESSE, 1528

DURING the sitting of the Diet of Spires, Philip of Hesse had already expressed himself as desirous of reinstating in his dominions, by force of arms, the outlawed Duke Ulrich of Würtemberg, who was on friendly terms with Zwingli, in order that Ulrich might plant the 'Gospel,' that is, the doctrines of Zwingli, in his duchy.[1] Ulrich himself had worked with uninterrupted activity for the recovery of his territory. 'It is constantly affirmed,' wrote the chieftains and councillors of the Suabian League to the Council of Zürich, on April 12, 1526, 'that Ulrich is again occupied in stirring up an insurrection, and that he is finding supporters in the district of Zürich.' The ringleaders of the social revolution who had taken refuge in Switzerland, and the peasants in Franconia and in the Palatinate, were fed by emissaries with the hope that Ulrich would espouse their cause, and would set a fresh enterprise on foot with his freebooting troops.[2] The Würtemberg Estates declared that 'as they must be hourly on the defensive against their own "Turk,"

[1] See above, p. 26, note 1.

[2] Jörg, pp. 635–636.

the Duke, they could not contribute any aids to the Turkish war.'[1]

Ulrich counted on the French King's helping him in this undertaking.

During the captivity of Francis I. he had made the following proposal to the Regent of France: That she should supply him with 6,000 Landsknechts, for one month, to whom, he said, 4,000 more would in a short time join themselves; and that if she would further let him have 1,200 equipped horses, with heavy artillery, and 20,000 crowns, he hoped 'to stir up the Bohemians to invade Germany; but all that they conquered must be considered their own.' Francis I. had solemnly pledged himself in the treaty of Madrid never in future to give Ulrich either direct or indirect assistance, and never to take him into his service. Nevertheless on July 4, 1526, he renewed his promise to the Duke of 'substantial help,' assuring him that he would place all the might of his empire at his service.[2] In January 1527 Philip of Hesse received into his palace at Cassel the outlawed Duke, who was branded as a murderer, and who for some time past had been making raids from Hohentwiel and Mömpelgard, like a robber knight, and plundering merchants and wagons. Despite the orders of the Emperor and the *Reichsregiment*, which required the banishment of the outlaw, Philip 'treated him in such a friendly and hospitable manner' that Ulrich wrote to Zwingli on April 3, 1527, that he had every reason to hope that his cause would prosper in a wonderful manner.[3] Throughout the month of April,

[1] Ch. F. von Stälin's *Würtembergische Geschichte*, iv. 314.

[2] G. F. Sattler's *Geschichte des Herzogthums Würtemberg unter der Regierung der Herzoge.* [3] *Zuinglii Opp.* viii. 35.

Philip was busily employed in levying troops in Strassburg; and in Lent, so Archbishop Albert of Mayence informed George von Truchsess, Stattholder of Würtemberg, he had enjoined the towns of Frankfort, Strasbourg, Augsburg, and Ulm 'to remain quiet on his approach.' He intended to invade Mayence, and then reinstate Ulrich. In view of this Albert begged the Stattholder to send help to anticipate the Landgrave's plans, and to send help to the archbishopric. George von Truchsess responded to the appeal, and applied also for help to the Bishops of Würzburg and Bamberg.[1] At Whitsuntide an attack on Würtemberg from the direction of Switzerland was apprehended; all the military posts were at once filled up and the places of assembly appointed.[2]

The strangest rumours went abroad concerning preparations for war. On May 6, 1527, the Council of Berne informed the confederates at a Diet at Einsiedeln that an army of 130,000 men, equipped by King Ferdinand and the Imperial Estates, was to invade Aargau and other districts, in order to overpower Zürich and bring the town back to the old faith.

The fortification of Nuremberg, so Eobanus Hessus reported at the beginning of the year 1527, was being carried on with such assiduity that the town must end in becoming impregnable.[3] Wittenberg also was fortified to such an extent that its appearance was completely altered.[4] 'Much secret deadly enmity,' wrote Jacob Gaotsch to Zwingli on January 20, 1528, 'exists between princes and lords; no one trusts any one.

[1] Bucholtz, iv. 610; Heyd, ii. 853.
[2] Heyd, ii. 352. [3] Krause, ii. 60–61.
[4] Luther to Wenzel Link, August 28, 1528, in De Wette, iii. 126.

Meanwhile, the Turk is active and arming himself with might and main.'

In February 1528 the Landgrave Philip, accompanied by Duke Ulrich, presented himself at the court of Weimar, in order to inform the Elector of Saxony of a particularly dangerous alliance which King Ferdinand had concluded with several ecclesiastical and secular princes, with a view to the complete suppression of all the Estates that were in favour of 'the Gospel.' Dr. Otto Pack, Controller of the Chancellery of his (Philip's) father-in-law, Duke George of Saxony, had, he said, furnished him with secret intelligence concerning this alliance, and had promised to lay before him the original documents. He had thereupon travelled to Dresden, where he had actually held the sealed document in his hands, had read its signatures, and, with Pack's permission, had made a transcript of it.[1]

This most pernicious alliance was said to have been concluded at Breslau on May 15, 1527, between Ferdinand, the Electors of Mayence and Brandenburg, the Archbishop of Salzburg, the Bishops of Bamberg and Würzburg, Duke George of Saxony, and the Dukes William and Louis of Bavaria. According to the wording of the pretended treaty the allies were pledged

[1] Melanchthon wrote, in July 1528, concerning Philip, 'Is affirmabat, se archetypon vidisse, commemorabat σφραγῖδας, breviter mirabiliter incensus erat' (*Corp. Reform.* i. 987). In Seckendorf, ii. 95, we read, 'The Landgrave had assured the Elector at Weimar, "fœderis exemplum sigillatum et subscriptum se in manibus habuisse," and had promised "autographon se adepturum et exhibiturum esse."' To Duke George of Saxony Philip wrote, on June 23, not that he had seen the original document, but only a copy of it, 'which was tied together with black silk cord, was sealed on both sides with the seal of the Saxon chancellery, and that under this seal was the signet ring of Duke George' (Ranke, vi. 132). Pack had allowed the Landgrave's secretary to make a copy of it, and had been paid 4,000 crowns for giving the permission.

to devote all their energies to the extermination of the heresies that had sprung up and to the maintenance of the old faith and Church service. Their plan was first of all, by means of powerful help, to secure to King Ferdinand the conquest and undisturbed possession of the kingdom of Hungary; the next step would be to make another appeal to the Elector of Saxony to deliver up Luther and his followers, and to restore the old faith; and, if this were refused, to make an attack on him with their joint forces, to take possession of his whole territory and to divide it among themselves. Similar measures were to be taken against the Landgrave of Hesse in case of his persisting in his disobedience to the Church, and his principality was to be made over to Duke George. The different allies were to have shares of the plunder, both in land and men, with the exception of the Archbishop of Salzburg and the Dukes of Bavaria—the most decided opponents of Ferdinand—who, according to the terms of this fictitious treaty, were to contribute their armed strength to his service without expecting or receiving any profit.[1]

By means of stormy invective the Landgrave Philip succeeded in moving the Elector of Saxony to form an offensive counter-alliance, in which it was arranged that they should surprise their alleged foes with a superior

[1] Concerning the printing of this pretended treaty see H. Schwarz's *Landgraf Philipp von Hessen und die Pack'schen Händel*, p. 27, note 3. That this alliance was fictitious is now universally acknowledged. Ranke, iii. 32–33, says: 'A document so full of contradictions, brought forward by such an untrustworthy, deceitful man, must, without doubt, be completely rejected.' 'What sort of a man was Pack? The Dresden Archives contain pieces which show him up as untrustworthy and deceitful, in fact, a thoroughly bad sort.' See Schwarz, 24 Schomburgh, 194–195.

force before the latter proceeded to an assault. In a treaty of March 9, 1528, the two princes pledged themselves to collect an army of 20,000 infantry and 6,000 cavalry, and to have in readiness 600,000 florins to defray the expenses of war. The Dukes of Mecklenburg, Lüneburg, and Pomerania were to be called upon for help, and the King of Poland to be worked upon by Duke Albrecht of Prussia to invade the dominions of Ferdinand and of the Elector of Brandenburg. Philip undertook to persuade the King of Denmark also to lend his support, and to endeavour to draw away the most powerful of the free cities from the Suabian League, and thus completely to undermine the strength of that confederacy. The restoration of Ulrich also was to be attempted simultaneously.

'The princes have got great matters at stake,' wrote Capito to Zwingli from Strasburg on April 15; 'the Landgrave was lately at Nuremberg, with only fourteen horsemen. The business in hand, as you will readily conclude, is the affair of the Duke of Würtemberg, from whose return to the Fatherland much advantage may be hoped for for our cause.'[1] Under the apprehension that the Landgrave of Hesse might invade Würtemberg the councillors and chieftains of the Suabian League who were assembled at Ulm, at the request of the government at Stuttgart, resolved on an 'eilende Hülfe' (hasty succour).

The King of France also came forward. Through the agency of Count Sigmund von Hohenlohe he submitted to Duke Ulrich, whom he was supporting with money, a fresh list of conditions and a formula of words in which the declaration of war against the

[1] *Zuinglii Opp.* viii. 160.

Emperor and King Ferdinand was to be couched.[1] On March 20, 1528, he despatched the said Count of Hohenlohe to Philip of Hesse, his 'best beloved friend and confederate,' with the information that 'the King had heard that the Landgrave was raising an armed insurrection with the object of setting himself up as Roman king. Should this be true, France and England would be ready to assist him with all their might. Philip thereupon sent two ambassadors to Francis I. with instructions to say that he had no intention of becoming Roman King, and also that he would not join an alliance against the Emperor so long as the latter took no measures against him. It was true that he was engaged in great military preparations, but it was in order to meet and resist an attack planned against him by King Ferdinand and other princes. In a fortnight he should be in the field, and he promised to lead a gigantic expedition against Ferdinand if Francis I. would with all speed send him the necessary money. 'I myself,' he sent word, 'have 4,000 horsemen and 10,000 foot soldiers in the field; to these the Elector of Saxony will add 1,500 cavalry and 4,000 infantry, besides the artillery, so that I shall have large expenses to defray. I shall want at least 100,000 florins monthly.'

'The conclusion of all this is that I beg that his Majesty will send me at least 400,000 florins.' In case the King should refuse to grant so large a sum the ambassadors were to come down in their demands to 100,000 crowns; the money was to be despatched to Nancy. The business, it was stated at the end of the instructions, could stand no delay. 'You must also point out to his Majesty that the leading princes

[1] Heyd, ii. 396.

and towns are my supporters, and that every single man among the lesser nobility and the common people is favourably disposed towards me.'[1]

The common people, on whose help Philip reckoned, had been again in a state of great commotion since 1527. Duke George of Saxony apprehended a fresh peasant insurrection;[2] reports were also in circulation of a rising of the peasants in the electorate of Saxony.[3] In the Ortenau, in the Breisgau, and in Alsatia, 'all manner of devices and secret manœuvres' were in operation for stirring up the country population. In the Rhine district there was no less cause for anxiety. On October 17, 1527, the Electors of Mayence, Cologne, Treves, and the Palatinate had pledged themselves to mutual assistance, because, owing to the present 'misunderstanding of the Christian faith,' an 'unforeseen rising' of the common people was to be feared.

'A violent upheaval of things is dreaded,' wrote Bucer to the preacher Farel on May 1, 1528; 'the common people are in hopes that there will be an onslaught on the clergy, and they are collecting in crowds in the camp of the Landgrave.'[4]

Philip also applied for pecuniary assistance to Zapolya, Ferdinand's opponent on the throne of Hungary, as he had done to the King of France.

Ferdinand had fought victoriously against Zapolya

[1] Varrentrapp, *Letters of Melanchthon*, pp. 5–8.

[2] Seckendorf, ii. 97.

[3] Capito's letter to Zwingli of April 22, 1528, *Zuinglii Opp.* viii. 166.

[4] 'Timetur ingens rerum permutatio. Vulgus sperat sacrificis malum intentari, ideo turmatim Hessi castra petunt' (Herminjard, ii. 132–133). On July 15, 1528, Melanchthon wrote concerning the warlike disturbances, '. . . . Vellent, opinor, deletos esse τοὺς ἀστυγείτονας ἐπισκόπους.' (*Corp. Reform.* i. 983).

in Hungary, and on November 3, 1527, he had been solemnly crowned at Stuhlweissenburg. Several magnates who had not stood by him before now came over to his side; his dominion was acquiring stability, and there was reason to look forward to 'a better time of harmony and cohesion' for the unhappy land which had so long been rent by internal discord. Zapolya, after another defeat at Kaschau in the beginning of 1528, had been obliged to leave Hungary and take refuge as a fugitive at the court of a Polish prince. He was resolved, however, not to give up his usurped throne, but, with the help of the Turks, to drive out Ferdinand. He instructed his ambassador Hieronymus Lasky, Palatin of Zierads, to 'lay the whole of Hungary at the feet' of the Sultan at Constantinople, and offered all the resources of his empire and of his hereditary lands, and his own person even, to help the Turks against their enemies. Zapolya received in return the Sultan's assurance that 'he would support Zapolya against that Austrian Ferdinand in such a manner that henceforth he might rest secure on both sides.' At a solemn farewell audience to the ambassador on February 3 the Sultan said, 'If your lord will keep us continually supplied with trustworthy information concerning all the proceedings of the Christians, our friendship will become firmly established. I for my part will be a friend and confederate of your lord, wholly and unreservedly, and will stand by him personally, and with all the resources at my command, against all his enemies.' This I promise in the name of the Prophet, the great Prophet Mohammed, beloved of God, and I swear it by my own sword.' 'Your Highness,' replied Lasky, 'will receive from my liege lord all the latest and most secret

intelligence. I swear to you by the one living God, and by Jesus, the Redeemer, that my king and lord will be the friend of your friends and the foe of your foes.' On April 10 Lasky informed King Ferdinand that 'he was coming to his lord's assistance with Turks, Moldavians, Wallachians, and Tartars, in order to perform that which had been commanded him.' On April 13 Zapolya issued a mandate to the German electors and the rest of the Estates, in which he declared that he should put forth all his might against Ferdinand, who had robbed him of his kingdom, and that he should not hold himself to blame if his enterprise proved prejudicial to Christianity.[1]

A few days later Otto Pack presented himself to Zapolya as Philip's ambassador, and asked for money to make war on Ferdinand in Germany. Zapolya pledged himself to pay 100,000 florins for military preparations and to contribute an additional monthly sum of 20,000 florins for the expenses of the war—half the sum, that is to say, which he had received from France and Venice. King Sigmund of Poland was also to be applied to for 100,000 florins, under the assurance that Philip had in readiness at the time 6,000 heavy cavalry troops and 20,000 infantry.[2] King Frederic of Denmark and Duke Albert of Prussia promised help to the Weimar confederates, and the council of Ulm declared that they would lend their support to the 'Divine Word,' that they would die in allegiance to it, and trust to it for their salvation.[3] Nuremberg came forward eagerly with offers of troops and munitions to

[1] Bucholtz, iii. 224–238, 247 ff.

[2] Rommel, i. 216 and ii. 205; Ehses, *Geschichte der Pack'schen Händel*, pp. 30–33; Seckendorf, ii. 98.

[3] Seckendorf, ii. 97; Rommel, i. 216; Keim, *Schwäbische Reformationsgeschichte*, p. 77.

the Landgrave, but on the condition that the enterprise should not be directed against the Emperor or the Suabian League.[1] In the Niederlausitz meanwhile serious complications were threatening to develop, owing to the proceedings of Nickel von Minckwitz, Lord of Sonnenwald, who had formerly been a confederate of Sickingen's and was now attempting to carry out in the north-eastern part of the Empire what Sickingen had failed to accomplish in the Rhine district.[2] Zapolya, to whom he had attached himself, had nominated him Stattholder of the Niederlausitz on August 17, 1527.[3] Minckwitz professed himself a 'lover of the pure Gospel,' and, whilst Philip was arming himself against the archbishopric of Mayence and the Franconian bishoprics, busied himself in levying numerous troops of mercenaries. It was thought that he would either invade the bishoprics of Magdeburg and Halberstadt or else make a raid on the Elector Joachim of Brandenburg or on Duke George of Saxony.[4]

Meanwhile, however, the Elector John of Saxony had grown suspicious, and was anxious to prevent any open rupture of the public peace.

During Philip's sojourn at Weimar in March it had been decided that neither peace nor an accommodation was to be aimed at, but that preparations for war were to be commenced at once in great force and the enemy to be attacked in their own country.[5] The Elector on

[1] H. Schwarz's *Landgraf Philipp von Hessen und die Pack'schen Händel*, pp. 39–40.

[2] J. G. Droysen's *Geschichte der preussischen Politik*, xxvi. 142–144,

[3] Neumann's *Geschichte der niederlausitz. Landvögte*, ii. 194.

[4] Falke's *Minckwitz*, p. 292 ff.

[5] Letters of Melanchthon to Camerar, of June 8 and July 15, 1528, in the *Corp. Reform.* i. 983, 987; Ehses, *Landgraf Philipp*, p. 94 ff.

the other hand, by the urgent advice of Luther and Melanchthon, demanded, in April, that before proceeding to an attack the Breslau treaty should be published and the princes who had taken part in it be required to vindicate themselves. The Elector reminded his confederate, Philip, that he had promised at Weimar to produce the original document.[1] This, of course, the Landgrave was not in a position to do. The Weimar treaty was so far modified that the suspected princes were first of all to be questioned, and action was to be taken according to their answers; meanwhile, however, the preparations for war were to be proceeded with.

Alarmed by the general rumour of warlike measures on the part of the Landgrave, Archbishop Albrecht of Mayence sent his councillors to Philip and declared himself willing to submit all claims and demands which Philip might have against him to the decision of the Emperor, the Reichsregiment, the Imperial Chamber, and the Suabian League. Archbishop Richard of Treves wrote to Philip on May 2 as follows: 'It was rumoured that he was equipping himself to attack some of the princes of the Empire; a campaign of this sort was a complete violation of the *Landfriede*; it would provoke well-grounded resentment from the Emperor and King Ferdinand, and would be the cause of great disturbances in the Empire.' In order to prevent such disturbances and the shedding of Christian blood, Richard declared himself ready to do all in his power for the preservation of peace, and to come forward as mediator in the present contention. Philip, however, did not accept the offer. Once again (on May 13)

[1] Ch. G. Neudecker's *Urkunden aus der Reformationszeit*, pp. 34-36 (Cassel, 1836).

Richard and the Palatine Elector Louis admonished him in a 'friendly and fatherly manner' to desist from a military expedition against the archbishopric of Mayence and the bishopric of Würzburg, and, at their mediation, at a Diet at Gelnhausen, to which they would also invite the threatened ecclesiastical princes, to lay aside their hostilities.[1]

Philip's only answer was an army of 4,000 cavalry and 14,000 infantry, which, in spite of his agreement with the Saxon Elector, he mustered at Herrenbreitungen, on the Werra, against the totally unarmed bishoprics of Würzburg and Bamberg.[2] The ambassador of the Elector of Saxony, Baron von Wildenfels, said on May 22 that he feared the Landgrave 'was about to begin a game which could not be justified either before God or before the world.' 'Your Electoral Grace,' he wrote to the Elector, 'would not believe what that man is capable of; for I know no animal so wild that I would not rather have the taming of than the Landgrave Philip.'[3]

On the same day Philip issued a public manifesto to all the Estates of the Empire, proclaiming a war of religion.

In this proclamation he said that he was calumniously accused of intending to lay siege to Frankfort and to make himself King of the Romans; it was false also to assert that he intended to enter the service of the French King, to stir up the common people to fresh insurrection, and to help Duke Ulrich to reconquer his territory.[4]

[1] Neudecker, pp. 37–40.

[2] For the strength of this army see Ehses, *Geschichte der Pack'schen Händel*, p. 58, note 8.

[3] Schwarz.

[4] Ehses, *Landgraf Philipp*, pp. 66–67; Schwarz, p. 40.

He was only holding himself in necessary readiness and defence to protect his own people and to ward off unchristian violence. Certain bishops and monks, by their iniquitous proceedings, had contrived to bring about a conspiracy between themselves and several of the great princes, against the living and gracious word of God. This was plainly proved by the treaty of which the transcript had been produced. Against such unchristian violence it was necessary that he should arm himself, and if he could not succeed in bringing about Christian peace by amicable means he must commit himself and his brother warriors, with a cheerful heart, to God's power and mercy in battle. It was most grievous of all to him, he said in a letter to his father-in-law, Duke George of Saxony, that the Duke should stand opposed to him in such a confederacy, and should hold him for a heretic. Seeing that he was reduced either to denying God's word and embracing the service of the devil, or to being driven out of his country, it scarcely became him to sit still and wait till he was attacked; he must rather compel the enemy to desist from their projects.

From which it is seen that Philip, who prated of Christian peace, called his Catholic compeers servants of the devil.

After the example of Franz von Sickingen and the revolutionary knights, and after them the insurgent peasants, who had inscribed 'The Word of God' on their standards, a legitimate prince of the Empire now for the first time set up a religious banner to inflame the passions of the people, and to give his attempts at the subjugation of others the semblance of compulsory self-defence. Following the precedent set by the

knights and the peasants, who had directed their first attacks against the clergy, Philip proceeded to open the campaign by an assault upon the spiritual princes of the empire, who could offer him the least resistance, and fill his coffers with the richest booty.

A few weeks before the Landgrave's march against the bishops Zwingli had gone the length of declaring that the massacre of the bishops was necessary for the establishment of the pure Gospel. 'I see,' he wrote on May 4, 1528, 'that the bishops will not desist from their fraud, their intrigues, and their agitations until a second Elijah appears to rain swords upon them.'[1] Meanwhile, so long as Christian love dictates to us to hope for improvement and spare them, we must do so. But when, on the contrary, this same love urges us to destroy them for the good of the whole body, then it is wiser to pluck out a blind eye than to let the whole body suffer corruption.'

The distracted condition of the Empire and the mass of inflammable material collected everywhere gave reason to fear the outbreak of a general war all over Germany. Had this happened, the inevitable result, in the opinion of an English ambassador accredited at Nuremberg, must have been the overthrow of the whole German nation.[2]

[1] *Zuinglii Opp.* vii. 174–184. He appealed to the example of Christ, who drove the money-changers out of the temple, and to Hezekiah and Josiah. Following the lead of these heroes the ruling powers must abolish the Mass. '. . . . etiamsi non debeat istud, ut sacerdotes simul contrucidet, cum videlicet citra tam crudele factum consilium obtineri possit, sin minus, jam nihil cunctabimur exempla etiam durissima sequi. . . .'

[2] '. . . . si haec tempestas, ut inhorruerat, desaevisset, nihil minus fuerat quam totius Germanicae nationis eversio' (Lawrence Stabber to Wolsey, August 15, 1528, J. S. Brewer's *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII.*)

When the fictitious nature of the Breslau Treaty, which Philip had published, became known to the princes concerned, their astonishment and indignation at such a tissue of lies were unbounded.

'We commiserate your Grace,' wrote the Elector Joachim of Brandenburg to Philip, 'for having been misled by groundless, disreputable lies to proceed to warlike measures, from which ruin, or at any rate great injury, may accrue to the country and the people.' There had never been any question of an alliance against him or the Elector of Saxony; the treaty was the pure invention of a desperate, perjured wretch. 'It would, therefore, have been becoming in your Grace if, according to our compact and agreement, chartered, sworn, and sealed, you had made known to us in time your opinions and intentions.' 'Your Grace,' siad the Elector in another letter, 'would have done wisely to abstain from writing about such unfounded statements without personal knowledge, and to have avoided stirring up insurrection in the land against his Imperial Majesty, our most gracious Sovereign, and calumniating me, the King, and the electors and princes in a public despatch.'

'Never once,' said King Ferdinand in a despatch, 'had he entertained a thought of such a league or anything like it, still less signed any such document; and he could never have been guilty of acting in opposition to the *Landfriede*, the Suabian League, and the Recesses.' 'In all respects,' he said, 'we shall always behave in a Christian and irreproachable manner, as beseems an upright monarch, according to the example handed down to us by our predecessors—Roman emperors, kings, and archdukes of Austria.' The

King desired Duke George of Saxony to sift the matter to the bottom and find out where and how the imposition had originated.[1]

'You must point out to me the guilty man,' insisted George to his son-in-law, Philip, 'so that I may protect myself and every one else against him. And if you do not do so I shall be constrained to think that you have concocted the whole fiction yourself, in order to have a reason for working your unfriendly will against your poor old father-in-law.' When Philip named Otto Pack as his informant in the matter of the alliance, George answered that he had never acted towards him (his son-in-law) with deceit and treachery, and that he had merited fully as much confidence from Philip as the traitor Pack. 'Ew. Liebden,' he added with bitterness, 'has dared to purchase with money the services of my now councillor and feudatory, and to alienate him from me, although, at your earnest entreaty, I lent him to you to help you in the Nassau business.' He did not deny, said the Duke, that he was a decided opponent of the Lutheran sect; but if Philip imagined, on the strength of the Recess of Spires, that 'he had the right to proceed in his own principality according to his pleasure, and even in opposition to the imperial edict that had been issued, then surely the Duke possessed an equal right and ought not to have been denounced in so dangerous a manner.'

While the outbreak of war was daily expected the Electors of Treves and the Palatinate once more offered themselves as mediators, and Philip was now in a different frame of mind: he had come down in his ideas. When later on he was reproached by his co-religionists

[1] Ranke, iii. 32, note 1.

for having projected much and accomplished little, he answered, 'That was because we felt that we had been deceived,' with regard to the Breslau treaty.[1] This, however, was scarcely the real reason for his change of mind; it was rather that the Elector of Saxony would not co-operate any longer, that the French King did not send the money asked for, and that the Suabian League had begun to arm.

But Philip had no intention of withdrawing empty-handed. He followed the example of Sickingen, whose habit it was to indemnify himself for his breaches of the *Landfriede* at the cost of those at whom his attacks had been aimed. According to an agreement arrived at on June 5, through the mediation of the Electors, the Bishop of Bamberg was obliged to pay the Landgrave 20,000 florins, and the Bishop of Würzburg 40,000. Towards Mayence Philip still maintained his warlike attitude, and he advanced with his army to Gelnhausen, for he intended to 'get more out of the Archbishop than mere money.' On June 14, however, he came to an understanding with the latter, but on the condition that Archbishop Albert should pay him 40,000 florins, and at the same time renounce his ecclesiastical jurisdiction in Hesse and Saxony, until such time as a new order of government should have been established by the Emperor and by a general free council.[2]

One of several reasons, Philip said, which had led him to believe in the spurious treaty was that 'the Bishop of Mayence wished to resume his jurisdiction in my territory, after having been silent on the subject

[1] Hortleder's *Ursachen*, p. 567.

[2] See note XVI., Appendix.

for three years.'[1] Through his breach of the *Landfriede* the Landgrave had accomplished this much at least, that 'the Archbishop would no longer be able to prepare difficulties for him in connection with the Divine Word.' The Elector of Saxony also profited in this respect at least, even if he did not, like Philip, use the military inefficiency of his ecclesiastical co-notables for extorting money.[2]

Archbishop Albert later on actually boasted of his weakness. 'He had been blamed by some,' he said to the Nuremberg delegates at the Diet of Augsburg, 'for having allied himself with Hesse. But his intentions had always been directed towards peace, and he could not and would not go to war. His desire was to be at peace and unity with every one.'[3]

The weakness and pusillanimity of the ecclesiastical princes made their opponents all the more confident for the future.

Part of the troops disbanded by Philip were taken into the pay of Nickel von Minckwitz. On July 8, 1528, Minckwitz, the 'lover of the pure Gospel,' surprised Fürstenwald, the residence of the Bishop of Lebus, Georg von Blumenthal, took possession of the town and the castle, and compelled the burghers, under threat of general pillage, to pay down a ransom and to swear allegiance to him. His soldiers plundered the cathedral, the council house, and the houses of the prebendaries; treated the church vessels and vestments in the most sacrilegious manner, and destroyed the bonds and other

[1] Philip to Duke George of Saxony, June 23, 1528 (Ranke, vi. 133).

[2] Melanchthon bitterly deplored the scandal which Philip's undertakings had brought upon 'the Gospel.' *Corp. Reform.* i. 998.

[3] Report of the Nuremberg delegates, May 26, 1530, in the *Corp. Reform.* ii. 68.

documents of the bishop and chapter. Minckwitz had the church treasures, the Mass vestments, and other plunder packed in wagons, and on July 9 he went back with his booty to his castle of Sonnenwald. The bishop, in a report on this crime addressed to Joachim, Elector of Brandenburg, July 18, 1528, said: 'They have laid sacrilegious hands on the Blessed Sacrament and carried away the vessel in which it was contained.' He emphatically declared that he had never known this fellow Minckwitz, and had consequently never given him cause to behave in so cruel and outrageous a manner: the Elector, he said, in whose land the bishopric lay, and under whose protection it stood, must see that the damages were made good, the prisoners set free, and the offenders punished. Joachim prepared to march against Sonnenwald. But King Ferdinand, who feared that he might invade the district of Lausitz, forbade his taking any personal measures against Minckwitz, and insisted that the matter should be settled at Prague, according to the statutes and ordinances of the Bohemian government. No decision, however, was arrived at.[1] The desecration of the *Landfriede* and the 'bandit raid' remained unpunished. In the autumn of 1528 Minckwitz was again busy levying troops on a large scale, whether for a march against Brandenburg or for the service of Zapolya was not known.[2]

On the conclusion of the treaties between Philip and the archbishops and the Suabian League it had been promised that the forged alliance should never again be mentioned, and that 'for prevention of fur-

[1] Falke's *Minckwitz*, pp. 294–326.

[2] Luther to Spalatin, October 20, 1528 (De Wette, iii. 391).

ther hostility and ill-will the matter should be entirely dropped and left to die down.' Fresh rancour and bitterness, however, were stirred up in connection with the business by a pen and paper war of Luther with Duke George of Saxony. Luther, who had formerly been a zealous opponent of Philip's conduct, now that peace was concluded would not allow that the Breslau league was a forgery. In a public pamphlet against Duke George and his Catholic associates he appealed to God for help with the words, 'Wicked tongues abuse me, as if I had overthrown the dominion of the Pope by sectarianism, tumult, and bloodshed. Save me, my Lord and God, from such tyrants and persecutors, who know well that they are accusing me falsely, and who are themselves bloodhounds and murderers. Enough of mercy has been shown them; they simply will have none of it. Go to, go to; now let it be seen whether Thy wrath is greater and mightier than their raging; let them run their heads together that they may tumble and fall, and thus witness to the ministry of the word which Thou hast entrusted to me.'[1]

On November 30, 1528, the Emperor, through the instrumentality of the Reichsregiment, summoned the Imperial Estates to meet at a Diet at Spires on the 21st of the following February. Owing to the war so unjustly declared by the French King, Charles said that he was unable to carry out his long-cherished wish of coming to Germany. The Turks—in no small measure owing to the encouragement and intrigues of the refractory Christian Estates—were pressing on continually further, and directing their attacks against the

[1] *Sämmtliche Werke*, xxxi. 25–27. (For full and lengthy note concerning Luther's 'pen and paper war' see Appendix XVII.)

German nation. In Germany, moreover, heresy and discord had gone on increasing, and had resulted in insurrection and violent breaches of the *Landfriede*. He implored the notables most earnestly to appear at Spires at the appointed time, in order to confer and come to a decision with regard to resistance against the Turks, suppression of errors in the Christian faith, and re-establishment of peace and order.[1]

The Emperor cherished hopes of happy results from this Diet, 'especially in matters of religion,' because he had entered into a better understanding with the Pope, and because the convocation of an œcumenical council now seemed near at hand.

[1] J. Ney's *Geschichte des Reichstags zu Speier im Jahre* 1529, pp. 291-294.

CHAPTER VII

WAR AND RECONCILIATION BETWEEN POPE AND EMPEROR—DIET OF SPIRES, 1529—ZWINGLIANISM GAINS GROUND

Pope Clement VII. had authorised the College of Cardinals to ratify the League of Cognac. But in August 1526 he despatched a cardinal to the Emperor to treat with him concerning a general peace. Charles was delighted to enter into negotiations of this nature. 'It was his wish,' he wrote, 'to prove by deeds better than he could by words how greatly he desired the general welfare of Christendom, and how humble and devoted a son of the Church he was. The conclusion of peace was the right means for restoring order in Christendom, for averting the Turkish danger, and for putting an end to heresies and sectarianism. He was ready to co-operate towards these ends with the Pope and the German princes, either by pacific measures or, if necessary, by force: he would sacrifice life and property in the cause.' If the Pope wished him to march first against the Turks, without waiting to interfere in the Lutheran affair, which could quite well be settled by other means, he would lead the Turkish expedition himself as soon as the Pope had proclaimed general peace in Christendom. The question of the council he left entirely to the discretion of the Pope, for he was fully aware that it was the business of his

Holiness alone to convoke a general council of the Christian Church. As for the duchy of Milan, the Emperor declared that he only demanded it as a fief of the Empire; personally he laid no claims to it, either for himself or for his brother Ferdinand. He also declared himself ready to enter into any suitable and reasonable negotiations with the King of France for the conclusion of a fresh treaty. If it was the Pope's wish that he should renounce Burgundy and Flanders, in order that legal decision might be arrived at, and that he should liberate the children of the French King in return for a money ransom and the defrayal of the war costs, he would comply with this wish also, if only he received the assurance that Francis I. would fulfil his part of the compact, so that general peace might actually be brought about and a joint crusade of all the Christian powers against the Turks be arranged.[1]

But the King of France, by repeated fresh assurances of substantial succour, knew well how to divert the Pope's mind from peace, and the war had its course. Instead, however, of coming to the aid of the confederates, whom he had incensed against the Emperor, Francis I. gave himself up to amusement, spending time and money in the most unworthy pursuits.[2] On March 17, 1527, Clement VII. concluded an eight months' truce with the imperial general, Lannoy,

[1] Bucholtz, iii. 47–50.

[2] Raynald, *ad a.* 1526, nos. 11 and 17. Robert Acciajuoli, the Florentine ambassador in Paris, was in despair about the indifference and frivolity of the French, especially the King, to whom the chase and other pleasures were far more engrossing than serious affairs. See A. Desjardins, *Négociations Diplomatiques de la France avec la Toscane*, pp. 870, 886, 892–893.

Viceroy of Naples. Lannoy, however, was not in a position to insist on this truce being observed by the imperial field marshal, Charles of Bourbon, who was at the time advancing from Milan against Rome with his insurgent troops. The Pope, accordingly, on April 15 sought to protect himself by a renewal of the league with France, England, and Venice. But he was unsuccessful in his attempt, and on May 6 there followed the storming and sack of Rome.

Charles of Bourbon had led his army in person against the imperial city; but he had fallen mortally wounded while scaling the walls, and the savage hordes of undisciplined soldiers, German and Spanish, that rushed in upon the town exceeded in brutality and barbarity all the acts of atrocity that had ever been perpetrated in Rome. Hundreds of defenceless priests and monks were butchered; all the sick people in the hospital of San Spirito were put to death; the monasteries and convents became the scenes of the most infamous brutality. A band of German Landsknechts proclaimed Luther as Pope, decked themselves out in ecclesiastical array, and rode round the city mimicking the Church ceremonies; they dressed up a donkey in clerical vestments, and stoned to death a priest who refused to tender the Sacrament to the kneeling animal.[1] The plundering lasted eight days. Treasures of art and stores of Church treasures were stolen or broken up; archives and libraries were destroyed; in the church of St. Peter even the tombs were ransacked. Nearly 10 million worth of gold fell into the hands of the soldiery; the meanest ruffian (says one report) became

[1] F. Gregorovius, *Geschichte der Stadt Rom im Mittelalter vom 5. bis 16. Jahrhundert*, viii. 543.

possessor of 3,000 or 4,000 ducats. 'We have taken Rome by storm,' wrote Sebastian Schärtlin, one of the leaders of the Landsknechts, in cold-blooded language; 'we have massacred about six thousand people, and plundered the whole city; we have looted all the churches, and ransacked the graves; we have burnt down a considerable portion of the town, and we have "kept house" in fine style. We found the Pope with twelve cardinals in a narrow chamber in St. Angelo; we took him prisoner, amid much lamenting from them all, and we all of us grew wondrous rich.'[1]

'The stench of the corpses is awful,' wrote a Spaniard a month after the storming of the town; 'human beings and animals are alike left unburied; in the churches I have seen dogs devouring the corpses. The public places are crowded with tables, at which great heaps of ducats are gambled for. The air is filled with blasphemy, so that all the good people (if there are any) wish themselves deaf.'[2]

When the news of these atrocities reached Germany the humanist Eobanus Hessus exclaimed triumphantly, 'Did I not prophesy aright, when I wrote to Luther that this kingdom of the gruesome tyrant would not last long? The Beast is taken captive, the haughty Babylon has fallen. O century of salvation! Now first do I count myself happy to have been born, now

[1] Compare Herberger's account, xiii. 'The Lutherans more than others exhibited their animosity against the Roman Church. They rummaged the tombs of the Popes, they trampled on the heads of St. Peter, Paul, Andrew, and other saints; they turned the papal chapel into a horse-stable, and littered it with papal bulls and grants of indulgences.' *Beschreibung der Plünderung Roms von Wolfgang von Berbissdorf*, in König's *Genealogische Adelsgeschichte*, iii. 39–40.

[2] Baumgarten, ii. 541–542.

first has life become delightful to me.'[1] Melanchthon, on the other hand, said in a speech delivered at Wittenberg, 'How greatly we should lament over the fall of Rome, seeing that this city is the universal mother of all nations! I myself, indeed, feel this disaster no less than if it had happened to my own native place. These robber hordes have not been held back either by the sacredness of the city or by the thought of all that Rome has become to the whole world through her laws, her learning, and her art.'

It was not the Emperor, however, Melanchthon justly added, who was to blame for all the barbarity that had been committed, but the army alone. The depredations had been carried on without the knowledge of the Emperor, who by nature was inclined to mercy, and was of too noble a character to approve of wanton cruelty and destruction.[2]

As late even as June 30 the Emperor 'had no certain knowledge of what had taken place at Rome;' consequently, so he wrote to the viceroy Lannoy, he had not yet decided which envoy to send to the Pope to condole with him and exculpate himself. After the middle of July he sent Pierre de Veyre to Lannoy with the assurance that it had distressed him greatly to learn to what extremities of violence and coercion matters had been pushed at Rome, for nobody had desired the perpetration of so much infamy and cruelty. Since, however, these atrocities had been enacted, and the Pope had been made prisoner, he was compelled to adopt the opinion that these things had happened by

[1] J. G. Krause, *Scriptorum de rebus Marchiae Brandenburgensis*, &c., ii. 61–62.

[2] *Corp. Reform.* ix. 130; Schmidt's *Melanchthon*, p. 135.

the providence of God and by Divine permission, in order thereby 'to prepare a way for solid peace in Christendom, and for the assembly of a council to deal with the necessary ecclesiastical reforms as well as with the extirpation of heretical Lutheran sects.'[1]

He added that he did not intend, after the fashion of the world, to turn the events ordained by God to his own profit. 'We see right plainly,' he goes on, 'that the best way of mending the evil would be for us to proceed at once to Rome, to kiss his Holiness's hand and foot, to give him back his entire freedom, and, with our own hand, to replace him in his Pontifical Chair. But we lack the necessary equipment for carrying out such a plan, nor do we know how much help, both in ships and in money, we should obtain in such a case from the kingdoms of Sicily and Naples. The Pope has often proposed, and indeed has promised, to come to us in Spain. More than ever now do we wish that this promise might be fulfilled; for it would be the means of bringing about, all the more rapidly, through the mediation of his Holiness, the much-desired peace of Christendom; or, at any rate, peace between ourselves and the King of France, which is the thing of most importance.' The Viceroy, however, must take measures for the safe journey of the Pope, so that there may be no risk of his being attacked at sea by the French and the Moors; also it must not in any way

[1] Even Cardinal Cajetan, whom the Landsknechts dragged through Rome, first trampling him under foot, then carrying him round the streets with a sackman's cap on his head, wrote later of the sack of Rome as of a judgment of God: 'Nos Ecclesiae praelati Romae in praedam direptionemque atque captivitatem dati non infidelibus, sed Christianis iustissimo Dei iudicio, quia, cum in sal terrae electi essemus, evanuimus, ac ad nihilum utiles nisi ad externas caeremonias externaque bona.' See Gregorovius, viii. 568, note.

appear as if the Pope 'were coming to Spain on compulsion or for any other reason than by his own wish.' If the Viceroy could not undertake to arrange for the safe passage of the Pope, he must, as the Emperor's representative, reinstate him in his Chair. 'But before he was restored to this freedom, which it must be understood was to be confined to ecclesiastical jurisdiction, Lannoy must be furnished with full security that the Emperor would not be deceived, and, as had happened to him before, be rewarded for kindness and generosity by injury and loss.'

He specified as a necessary security the surrender of the more important places of the ecclesiastical dominions, which, however, he said he did not exact for his own private advantage; he only wished to retain them in his power until the settlement of the general peace and the convocation of a general council for the consideration of ecclesiastical reforms.

To the Pope himself the Emperor sent expressions of his deep distress at the barbarity that had been perpetrated, begging him to forget all hostilities and to join with him in attempting to heal the wounds that had been inflicted on the Church. The discord and division among the Christian powers cut him to the heart; above all, the condition of Germany, which ought to be sufficient in its own strength to repel the attacks of the infidels, but was now torn and distracted by heresies and crippled by internal dissensions.

The Emperor accordingly wished that the Pope should have entire freedom of action in all Church matters; for himself he cared only for peace, and had no intention of claiming any fresh lands and subjects in Italy; he hoped that the victory over the Pope, as

temporal leader, would contribute to the removal of the hindrances which had been raised against the 'assembling of a council, and he only refrained from at once restoring the Pope to his secular dominion in order to prevent the still greater dissensions which might arise if his Holiness should turn the ill-treatment he had undergone into a motive for a fresh war.'[1]

In proof of his desire for peace the Emperor, in September 1527, assured the French and English ambassadors of his willingness to accept the French proposals with regard to Burgundy and the release of the King's sons, in return for a money ransom, on condition that the French general Lautrec left Italy and surrendered the conquered towns of Genoa, Alessandria, and Pavia.[2]

But England and France, bound together by new treaties against the Emperor since August 18, would not hear of peace. Francis I. raised his demands to such an extent that Charles could not possibly agree to them. He stipulated that Duke Sforza of Milan, who had joined in leagues and conspiracies against the Emperor, should be restored to his duchy unconditionally and without a trial, and that the Emperor should liberate the French princes before Lautrec had been recalled. The French King's intention was to take possession of Naples as well as Lombardy.

[1] Bucholtz, iii. 105. On October 7 an English ambassador wrote from Rome to London: 'The general of the Franciscan order came from Spain to Rome and told the Pope, in the Emperor's name, that he should be liberated on condition of holding a general council for the reformation of the Church. . . . The Pope answered that he would agree to a council, but Christian princes must first agree with each other about the place where it shall be held.' Brewer, 4", 1573, no. 3476.

[2] *Ibid.* iii. 114–116. The Emperor's despatch to N. Perrenot, ambassador at Paris, February 5, 1528. See Lanz, i. 259–262.

In January 1528 Lautrec forced an entrance into the kingdom of Naples, and captured most of the fortified towns; only Gaëta and the capital were left in the Emperor's possession. The Venetians made themselves masters of the Apulian harbours, and Philippino Doria defeated the imperial fleet in the waters of Amalfi. But the Emperor succeeded in gaining over the Genoese admiral, Andrew Doria, by promises of the independence of Genoa. Meanwhile a terrible pestilence broke out in the French camp in August, 'so that out of 25,000 men not 5,000 survived.' 'So we made a sortie from the town,' writes Schärtlin von Burtenbach, 'with a mere handful of men; we slew the enemy by the grace of God, and took from them all their guns and material.' At Aversa the French army was completely routed. 'In short, those who were not killed died of their wounds or otherwise. And so we reconquered this land for his Imperial Majesty.'[1] On September 12 Andreas Doria liberated his native city from the hands of the French.

By a treaty concluded with the Emperor's plenipotentiary on November 26, 1527, Clement VII. received restitution both of his spiritual and temporal power, in return for the temporary surrender of some of his fortresses, which the Emperor wished to retain in his power 'until the Pope, as far as it depended on himself, had fulfilled his promises.' These promises were to the effect that he would join with the cardinals in promoting peace, and would convoke a general council with a view to ecclesiastical reforms and the extirpation of Lutheran

[1] *Lebensbeschreibung*, pp. 25–26. On August 29 Morone wrote from Naples to the imperial ambassador at the court of Rome, 'Victoria! victoria! victoria! Li Francesi sono debellati et rotti et alchune reliquie se ne fugieno verso Aversa' (Molini, *Documenti di Storia Ital.* ii. 81].

heresy. In spite of all the demands of his former allies Clement could not be prevailed on to take part in the war against Charles. 'We have decided to remain neutral,' he wrote on May 6, 1528, to the governor of Piacenza, 'and, as the spiritual father of all nations, to labour for peace.' After the success of the imperial arms before Naples the Pope, at the urgent request of Charles's envoy, returned to Rome. 'A wretched, mangled corpse confronts our horror-stricken gaze,' he wrote to Charles on October 24, 1528, 'and nothing can allay our grief, nothing can restore to life the unhappy church and city, but the prospect of a lasting peace and undisturbed tranquillity.'

At the Emperor's wish the Pope deputed a legate to attend the Diet at Spires.

The imperial proposals, which were communicated to the estates at the opening of the diet at Spires on March 15, 1529, ran as follows:—

'In consequence of the pernicious doctrines and errors which have sprung up in Germany not only have all praiseworthy Christian laws and usages come to be treated with contempt, but wars, lamentable insurrections, misery, and bloodshed have been stirred up, in outrageous defiance of the imperial mandates and the Recesses.' A general council, which the estates had pressed for, was about to be convoked. The Pope, with whom the Emperor was now reconciled, had declared himself willing to further the meeting of this council, and it would be summoned as early as possible, 'in order that useful and decisive measures might be agreed upon for the removal of errors in our holy faith, and for re-establishing the Christian religion on a sound

basis.' Hence the imperial command and injunction to all the Estates of the realm was that until the meeting of this council, on pain of forfeiting all privileges, fiefs, liberties, and grace, and of undergoing the severest penalties, no person or persons, either lay or clerical, were to proceed in any way with violence against any others on account of religion, or compel them to adopt a different creed, or endeavour to attach them to the new sects, as had been done in several places.

Whosoever should disregard this imperial command and 'be guilty of any violent act of seizure or aggression' would at once fall under the penalty of outlawry.

Herein lay a direct condemnation of the forcible suppression of the Catholics in the Empire.

If 'fresh risings, tumult, or oppression should occur,' the decree of the Emperor went to the length of saying that 'in such a case, according to the decisions of the Recess of the Diet of Spires in 1526, 'the nearest neighbours of the oppressed, injured, or aggrieved persons should come to their rescue.'

As for the particular article in the Recess of the aforesaid Diet, in which it had been stated that, pending the meeting of the Council, the Estates would severally govern and act with regard to their subjects in such way as they thought they could justify before God and the Emperor, 'different meanings had been attached to it by several of the Estates, according to their various likings,' whence had arisen 'exceeding great offences against the faith and disobedience of subjects towards their rulers.'

In order, therefore, to put a stop to this article's being any longer interpreted according to each one's individual taste, the Emperor, 'by right of imperial

plenary power, herewith struck it out, revoked and annulled it, now, henceforth, and for ever more.' In place of this article the Emperor's own wishes in the matter were to be recorded in the Recess. This much the Emperor expected to be conceded unhesitatingly by the Electors, Princes, and Estates.[1]

The Estates, however, did not unconditionally recognise the 'plenary power' of the Emperor.

A committee was appointed to consider the imperial proposal, and on March 22 it was decided by a large majority that the article in question should be struck out of the Recess in accordance with the Emperor's wish, and his own article accepted, but 'not in quite so strong a form' as that in which it appeared in the proposal; it was to be brought before the lower Estates in a 'modified and milder shape.' The opinion of the committee was as follows: The Emperor should, according to his proposal, as chief guardian and temporal head of Christendom, graciously procure that a free general council should be summoned within a year at latest, and should assemble within two years at latest, either at Metz, Cologne, Mayence, or some other German town. But if, for any reason whatever, the meeting of the general council should not take place (a contingency, however, which there was no reason to fear), they begged that the Emperor would convene an assembly of all the German Estates, and would attend it in person. Whereas the article of the Diet of Spires of 1526 had been grossly misunderstood by many, and had been twisted and strained into justification of all

[1] Imperial 'Proposal' in the Frankfort *Reichstagsacten*, xliii. fols. 61ᵇ–72; Müller's *Historie von der evangel. Stände Protestation und Appellation*, 22 ff.

sorts of outrageous new doctrines and sects, the Estates had resolved that those of their members who had hitherto conformed to the Edict of Worms should continue to abide by it up to the meeting of the council; and with regard to those in whose dominions the new doctrines had been encouraged, whereas such teaching could not be stopped altogether without disturbance and danger, they were to be admonished as far as lay in their power to prevent the introduction of any further innovations before the meeting of the council. In particular all such doctrines and sects as were opposed to the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ were not to be tolerated, nor were these doctrines to be preached. Likewise 'the services of the Holy Mass were not to be abolished, and in the districts where the new teaching had gained the upper hand the holding and hearing of the Mass were not to be forbidden or hindered.' The Anabaptists were to be proceeded against by a severe penal mandate. No spiritual or secular Estate was henceforth to commit violence against another in any manner, by deprivation of authority, or seizure of goods, rents, tithes. If any proceedings of this sort should take place, the Kammergericht was to be empowered to pronounce sentence of outlawry on the offenders, and under penalty of the ban to summon the neighbouring Estates to the rescue of those attacked.

The imperial proposal did certainly appear in an essentially milder form in the resolution of the committee which conceded to the Lutheran States the maintenance of the new church system until the decision of the Council. All that was exacted of these districts was that they should leave others equally undisturbed in their religion and their possessions.

But the resolution was not agreed to by the disaffected members.

Four days after it had been submitted to the Diet on April 3, the Frankfort delegate wrote that most of the towns had made serious objections to the article concerning religion, and had refused, for various reasons, to accept it. They said that 'it contained all sorts of words, which the towns at which they were aimed would never bear or suffer; for instance, that nobody was to be forcibly deprived of his authority and inheritance.' If this were agreed to, the clergy would forthwith proceed to appoint and depose preachers as before, and to resuscitate all the old abuses and to play their wonderful pranks.

Nuremberg had already on March 27 entered 'a formal appeal and protest' against the committee for sanctioning the removal of the Spires article, and the delegate from Memmingen described the committee's resolution as 'an infamous, diabolical, popish "composition."'

'When King Ferdinand,' writes Fürstenberg, 'and the other imperial commissaries perceived that the close of the Diet was likely to be delayed by the town delegates,' Ferdinand sent for the delegates of eight Rhenish and eight Suabian towns which had hitherto remained true to the old faith, and expressed his gratitude to them for the obedience they had shown to the imperial mandate. He also entreated them earnestly not to allow any changes or innovations in the future, and to use their most diligent endeavours with the towns that had embraced the new doctrines, to bring them back to the orthodox Christian faith. Ferdinand personally addressed twenty-four of the delegates from these last-named towns, representing to them that 'in

disobedience to the imperial mandate their cities had adopted numerous innovations which were more conducive to discord and insurrection than to the glory of God.' He implored them to desist from this course, to leave the question of religion at rest till the meeting of the intended Council, and to act at the Diet in such a manner that a unanimous decision might be arrived at with regard to the Emperor's edict.* To this remonstrance Jacob Sturm of Strassburg answered in the name of the remaining delegates, with 'much appropriate and deferential language,' that 'the towns had not adopted innovations in religion out of a spirit of opposition to the Emperor, but in obedience to their consciences, and also for the sake of preserving peace and unity among their inhabitants; for the towns could not endure tumult and insurrection, any more than could the other Estates. To go back from what they had begun would be altogether against their consciences; in matters of religion they intended to follow the Gospel only, and at a Christian council they would be very willing to be instructed.'

In order to conciliate the new-religionist Estates with regard to that specially obnoxious clause in the resolution of the committee which demanded that 'nobody should be forcibly deprived of his authority and traditional rights,' an alteration was effected through the agency of the Palatine Elector Louis and the Margrave Philip of Baden. A fresh resolution was drawn up in which the words 'sovereignty' and 'traditional rights' ('Obrigkeit und Herkommen') were omitted, and the sentence was framed as follows: 'that no one of the ecclesiastical or secular estates should oppress, coerce, or attack another on account of the faith; that none of

them should rob others of their rents, fees, tithes, or property; and that none should protect the subjects of others against their rulers on account of their religion. Any infringement of this decree was to be punished according to the rules of the Landfriede laid down at Worms.'[1]

But even this amendment did not satisfy the disaffected Estates.

'I am of opinion,' said Fürstenberg on April 11, with regard to this modified clause, 'that the priests are apprehensive of danger. I also think that they are not so much concerned about what has already happened as about the future. Hence all their thoughts and energies are directed to forestalling evils to come, and in the meanwhile to recover what they have lost.'

On April 12 the resolution of the committee, in its amended form, was passed by an overwhelming majority of the colleges of electors and princes, and the fact was communicated to the town delegates. Twenty-one of the towns gave their assent to it, while eighteen of them rejected it and joined with the new religionist princes in raising objections to the decision of the majority.

On none of the Estates present did it make the slightest impression that the papal legate, John Thomas Picus of Mirandola, announced, in solemn session, on April 13, that 'the Pope was ready to help the Germans against the Turks to the full extent of his power; that he had offered to intercede personally with the Emperor, the King of France, and other Christian

[1] J. Ney's *Geschichte des Reichstages zu Speier im Jahre* 1529, pp. 176–178.

powers for the restoration of peace, and then, in the following summer, to convene a general council at which the German nation might come to an agreement with other nations concerning the Christian faith.' [1]

Ever since Philip of Hesse's violation of the Landfriede mutual distrust and bitterness had been increasing between the different estates, as was plainly visible at the Diet of Spires. The Elector of Saxony told his son that he had not received a visit from any one of the princes of the opposition party. 'The Palatinate knows Saxony no longer,' wrote Count Albert von Mansfeld to the Saxon electoral prince. Even in the countenances of the ecclesiastical princes, assembled at Spires in larger numbers than at any former Diet, Melanchthon declared he could read the hatred they bore the Lutherans and the mischief they were plotting.[2] 'Christ is once more in the hands of Caiaphas and Pilate,' said Jacob Sturm to the Strassburg councillors. To the great scandal of the Catholic notables Philip of Hesse organised a wolf hunt to take place on Good Friday.

The King of France also was not idle in sowing mistrust and in stirring up the notables at Spires against the Emperor. They must be cautious in the extreme, he intimated by an envoy to the Archbishop of Mayence; for the religious enthusiasm by which the Emperor appeared to be inspired was not genuine, but only a cloak for his insatiable greed of dominion; in reality the Emperor was aiming at the subjugation of all German princes. No less must the princes be on their guard against King Ferdinand, who was only dispensing friendly words in order to obtain an army

[1] Ney, p. 178 ff.

[2] To Camerar, March 15, in the *Corp. Reform.* i. 1039.

with which to consolidate his dominion in Hungary. On March 25 Francis I. expressed his regret to the whole body of notables that under the rule of the House of Austria Germany should be encumbered with so many intolerable grievances. He, Francis, was a friend of Germany and a friend of peace, and he was ready to fight with the German princes against the Turks. Moreover the Emperor himself was to blame for the invasion of the Turks, and the House of Austria despised Germany and, with lamentable avarice, was intent solely on getting dominion in Italy—that sink of all that was abominable, which from time immemorial had brought misery and suffering of all sorts on the noble land of Germany and the whole German nation.

At this very moment the King of France, whose own insatiable lust after the possession of that 'sink of corruption' had been the chief cause of the constant renewal of war, had sent fresh troops to Italy and was hoping, in conjunction with Venice, to wrest the feoff of Milan from the Empire. His delegate at Spires was instructed 'to enter into secret negotiations with all well-affected princes.'

Already during the sitting of the Diet at Spires the new-religionist princes and towns had commenced negotiations for an armed resistance on behalf of 'the Divine Word.' Philip of Hesse in particular had been extremely active in forming a league for the maintenance and diffusion of the 'Gospel.'

On April 4, the same day on which King Ferdinand had conferred with the town delegates, Besserer, the delegate from Ulm, wrote home that the Landgrave Philip had been talking with him about the restoration of Duke Ulrich, who 'was well disposed towards the

Gospel.' 'And if the devil,' said Philip, 'were to carry off the Margrave,' Joachim of Brandenburg, 'out of the Mark, or if my father-in-law, Duke George of Saxony, were to die, they both of them have sons who are evangelical, who would treat the parsons in such a manner that they would be glad to leave us alone.' On Philip's assurance that the Council of Ulm had nothing but good to expect from him, Besserer answered that the Landgrave was 'in the highest favour in Ulm with the common people.'

Philip had already alluded to his popularity with the common people when in 1528 he had applied for help to the King of France.[1]

An army of 14,000 men, so Philip assured the people of Ulm, would suffice to make head against all their adversaries. The Ulm delegates, having come to an understanding with Philip, signified their wish to the town council that it would enter into negotiations for a treaty with Nuremberg and Strassburg; Constance and Lindau also, they said, would be easy to win over; and by means of these towns they would be able, as the Landgrave and the delegate from St. Gall, a friend of Zwingli's, had suggested, to hold out their hands to Switzerland. 'And when the common people realised this, several other princes and towns would either join the League, or else the authorities would be driven out by their subjects.' Reliance, therefore, was placed on a revolutionary rising of the populace.

It was, indeed, an easy matter to reach Switzerland through Constance; for when some of the imperial cities had incurred the displeasure of the Emperor and the neighbouring Catholic princes for violent

[1] See above, p. 173.

procedure against the Catholic Church and its institutions, Constance had been the first to appeal for help to Switzerland and to endeavour, by joining the Swiss confederacy, to separate itself from the Empire. As early as Christmas 1527 a so-called league of 'Christian co-burghership' (an offensive and defensive alliance in matters ecclesiastical) had been formed between Constance and Zürich. Its terms were as follows: 'The inhabitants of these two cities were to consider each other as fellow citizens, and their respective magistrates were to be free to act on their own responsibility for mutual defence in matters connected with religion: in case of any attack on account of the faith the towns were mutually to assist each other.' In the hope of acquiring booty the allied towns further promised each other that if, in the event of hostilities, 'any towns, castles, lordships, lands, and people should be captured by either or both of them all that was taken possession of should fall equally to the share of both parties.' The Reichsregiment, the Suabian League, and King Ferdinand at once entered their protest against this league, objecting that the imperial city of Constance would thereby be alienated from the Empire, and that the Bishop of Constance, who had been unjustly expelled from his dominions, was a German prince of the Empire, to whom the Emperor's protection had been guaranteed. The protest, however, was ineffectual. On January 31, 1528, the town of Constance formed a league of 'Christian co-burghership' with Berne also, and then followed further leagues of the same kind between Zürich, Berne, St. Gall, Biel, Mülhausen, and Basle. At Zwingli's instigation (in February 1528), and at the same time that Philip of

Hesse was equipping for a march against the Archbishop of Mayence and the Bishops of Bamberg and Würzburg, Zürich urged the Town Council of Berne to make preparations for a war against the Catholic cantons.[1] 'We would gladly remain at peace,' wrote Thomas Murner from Lucerne to a Strassburg friend, 'but there is something in this new religion that makes it impossible for it to be at rest itself, or leave other people any rest.' In May 1528 the question of Strassburg's joining the league of 'Christian co-burghership' came under discussion. In consequence of the arbitrary action of the Strassburg Council in matters of religion the delegate from that town was to be deprived of his seat and vote at the Reichsregiment. At the Diet of Spires, accordingly, Jacob Sturm declared in threatening language that if this town was to lose all its rights 'because it had espoused the cause of God' the Empire must no longer count on its allegiance in anything. When Sturm was asked 'where, henceforth, Strassburg would look for help and protection,' he answered, 'For a long time already the King of France has been negotiating an alliance with us; he offers us a monthly subsidy of several thousand crowns; Switzerland, moreover, will receive us into her confederacy, as she has already received Basle.' Jacob Sturm entered eagerly into the proposals of Philip of Hesse with regard to an alliance between the Lutheran princes and the towns, and in a short space of time the Landgrave received acquiescent replies from Nuremberg, Ulm, and Strassburg.[2] He pitied their adversaries, wrote the Strassburg

[1] Fr. Rohrer's *Das 'christliche Burgrecht' und die 'christliche Vereinigung,'* pp. 4–9.

[2] Keim's *Schwäbische Reformationsgeschichte*, p. 113.

delegate, Mathis Pfarrer, from Spires on April 8; for if they would not relent and leave unmolested the people who craved for truth they would be 'drowned like Pharaoh in the Red Sea.'

At a general assembly of the Estates on April 17 the two colleges of princes, at the suggestion of the committee, agreed to an address which was to be presented to the Emperor, thanking him for his promises respecting the free Council and begging him to hasten on the Pope's action in the matter, in order that the schism in the Christian religion might be put an end to. At the same time they requested him earnestly to come himself to Germany as soon as possible, in order to bring about peace between the different Christian powers.

On April 19, in full assembly of the Diet, the imperial commissioners announced that by right of their plenary power they now, in their own and the Emperor's name, accepted the decision of the majority of the notables on the religious question, and were willing to have it drafted in the form of an Imperial Recess. As for the petition of grievances addressed to them by the Elector of Saxony and other notables, they would give them due consideration; and they expected of the petitioners that they would no longer oppose the Recess which had thus been carried by a majority in accordance with all ancient, laudable usages and in the name of the Emperor.[1]

This resolution of the Diet granted to the Lutheran States the right of maintaining the new religion and Church service within their domains, and the only stipulation in favour of the Catholics who remained true

[1] Ney, pp. 215, 223–229.

to the old faith and form of Church worship was that they should be treated with tolerance. 'The articles of the Imperial Recess,' said Melanchthon, 'do not press hardly on us. On the contrary, they afford us ample protection, more even than did the decision of the earlier Diet at Spires.' [1]

But it was by intolerance alone that the Lutheran towns and princes had been able to establish their new State religion against all the opposition of orthodox believers, and by intolerance they were determined to maintain it.

They protested against the terms of the Recess which enjoined tolerance on them as a duty, and from this protest they received the name of Protestants.

The protest was handed in on April 19 to the Elector John of Saxony, the Margrave Georg of Brandenburg-Culmbach, the Landgrave Philip of Hesse, the Dukes Ernest and Francis von Lüneburg, and Prince Wolfgang of Anhalt. 'For excellent reasons and on account of many grievances' the princes declared that they could not give their consent to 'presumptuous transactions and Recesses which were opposed to God and God's Holy Word, and at variance with the earlier Imperial Recess of Spires, by which they intended to abide.' The attempt of the rest of the notables to overthrow the latter was vain and futile, and, as far as they (the protesters) were concerned, utterly unbinding. Jacob Sturm joined in the protest in the name of the towns that felt themselves aggrieved.

In a private letter of April 21 Melanchthon called this protest 'a terrible business.'

[1] 'Articuli enim ibi facti non gravant nos, imo plus tuentur nos quam superioris conventus decretum' (*Corp. Reform.* i. 1059; Ney, p. 221, note).

'We should not stand in any danger,' he went on to say, 'if our party were more accommodating, and behaved more reasonably in other matters—in the questions of subsidies for the Turkish campaign and the maintenance of the Reichsregiment, for instance.'[1]

For the fear of an invasion by the Turks had been hanging over the Empire ever since things in Hungary had taken an unlucky turn for King Ferdinand.

Hieronymus Lasky, Zapolya's ambassador, had submitted a plan of war at Constantinople showing how an expedition against Ferdinand could best be carried out. The Grand Vizier, Ibrahim Pasha, though not approving of the plan in all its details, had volunteered fifty cannon, had given orders to Lasky to establish Zapolya's troops in Moldavia and Wallachia, and had informed him that the Sultan was burning with desire to punish Ferdinand. When Ferdinand, at the beginning of June, sent two ambassadors to Constantinople to sue for peace, at the same time demanding restitution to Hungary of the towns and fortresses that had been seized, offering in return a money equivalent in payment of war expenses and other losses, the Grand Vizier answered, 'Wherever the hoof of the Sultan's horse has trod there the land belongs to him. There is no other way to peace than by Ferdinand's giving up Buda and Hungary; after that we will negotiate with him concerning Germany.'

Reckoning on Turkish assistance, the adherents of Zapolya assembled anew in Hungary, obtained from him support in troops and money, and at the end of September defeated Ferdinand's army at Saros Patak. Zapolya instantly returned to Hungary. Turkish bands

[1] To Camerarius, *Corp. Reform.* i. 1060.

invaded Croatia and Carniola, carrying fire and death wherever they went, and reducing to slavery 30,000 men and women. The Turkish preparations began with a general summons to arms, and the Sultan addressed King Ferdinand as follows: 'May we lose our crown if you do not see that in a short time we shall come upon you with the forces of thirteen kingdoms and with all our own might to seek you out at Vienna, and all who have rendered you assistance shall be put to the most miserable deaths that we can devise. After that you may expect in a short time to see us invading and occupying the whole of Germany. We have no wish to conceal our intentions from you and your brother Charles.'

Ferdinand informed the notables at Spires that he had trustworthy intelligence that Solyman was setting out with an army of 300,000 men, and that he meant to extend his dominion as far as Cologne. They must encounter the enemy, he urged, with all speed and before he had time to reach the German frontiers and to begin perpetrating his barbarities on German land. It would be a shame and a disgrace if the Sultan should prove able to marshal such numerous troops, across an extensive area of waste and difficult country, with greater rapidity than the German princes, with all their facilities and advantages, could manage to lead an army along the Danube. If the Turks succeeded in subjugating Germany, they would become a terror to the whole world.[1]

After the news had reached Spires that the Turkish fleet[2] was cruising on the coast of Sicily the notables

[1] Bucholtz, iii. 258–260; Ney, pp. 103–104.

[2] Melanchthon's letter of April 4, 1529, in the *Corp. Reform.* i. 1047.

declared themselves ready to grant Turkish subsidies. But even at this critical juncture the 'protesting' princes and towns refused to pay up their share until their demands in the religious question had been agreed to.

In their protest on April 19 the princes had announced their intention of leaving Spires without delay and taking no further part in the proceedings of the Diet. At their own request King Ferdinand had consented to grant them an audience on the following day in order to consider their 'grievances and necessities.' The princes, however, did not make their appearance, but only sent in to the King by the hands of their councillors an enlarged form of protest, in which they again pronounced themselves determined not to agree either to the cancelling or the modification of the Spires resolution of 1526.

The Emperor had never ratified this resolution in any shape; on the contrary he had all along insisted that it should be repealed. Nevertheless the notables appealed to the Emperor in justification of their protest. 'We enter this our protest,' they said, 'firstly for the most excellent reason that we do undoubtedly hold his Imperial Majesty to be a laudable, just, and Christian Emperor, and secondly because, moreover, you yourselves, most gracious lords, most of you at any rate, are of the same mind as we ourselves that what has once been agreed to, signed, and sealed must be kept and observed word for word, loyally and inviolably, without any murmuring or resistance; and herein we are not mindful only of our own honour, well-being, repute, and dignity, but, even more, of his Imperial Majesty's and the whole nation's.' To acquiesce in the decision of

the majority would be, in their opinion, inconsistent with their duty to God and to the Emperor. They could not consent 'that those who had hitherto conformed to the imperial edict of Worms should continue to abide by it until the meeting of the council, and should insist on their subjects doing the same.' 'For it would be treating God Almighty with contempt to cause any, by reason of our relenting, to depart from that doctrine which we, on the sure basis of God's eternal word, do undoubtedly hold to be divine and Christian, and against our consciences to coerce them to obey the Edict.'

As little could they agree to allow the continuance of the Mass among their subjects; for their preachers had confuted and disproved the popish Mass with the holy, divine, unanswerable words of Scripture, and had established in its place the solemn and worthy service of the Supper of the Lord and Saviour (as the evangelical Mass was called), which was administered according to the ordinance of Christ and the usage of the Apostles. Were they now to allow the observance of the Catholic Mass to continue, they would be stigmatising the teaching of their preachers as erroneous, and would be occasioning disturbance, uproar, and insurrection among the common people, among those especially who were filled with genuine zeal for God's honour and glory.

While thus, however, refusing their consent to the toleration of the Catholic religion, they raised their voices high in favour of a form of teaching which Luther had most emphatically rejected, and whose originators he had relegated to everlasting damnation. In the Imperial Recess it had been stipulated that

'no sects or doctrines which were in opposition to the most venerable sacrament of the veritable body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ should be countenanced or tolerated.' But the princes were in league with the towns that had adopted the opinions of Zwingli, and from regard to these allies they protested that 'whereas his Imperial Majesty's mandate had not touched on this subject those whom it concerned had not been summoned and given a hearing.' Concerning the Catholic faith they pronounced judgment themselves, and rejected it as the worship of idols, or, in the words of the Landgrave Philip, as the service of the devil; but with regard to the Zwinglian doctrine of the Sacrament they referred all decisions to the future Council. 'It ought to be well considered, they said, how incorrect and open to reproach for the Emperor, the Estates and, all of us, it would be to deal with such articles independently of the future Council.'

On April 21 Ferdinand invited the Elector of Saxony to attend the following day with the rest of the 'protesting' princes at the Council-house, where the Diet was holding its sitting. 'Whereas nothing,' he said, 'could be satisfactorily settled by writing, he was ready to confer personally with the princes concerning the protestation and the decision of the Reichstag, in order to prevent the Diet from closing in a state of discord.'

But the princes would not attend in person, and deputed their councillors to give the King the following curt answer: 'Whereas all their representations had hitherto had no result, they could not now expect any honest treatment.' 'They had given in as far as their consciences would allow them' in their answer to Duke

Henry of Brunswick and the Margrave Philip of Baden when these princes had endeavoured to mediate with them.

The extent of their 'giving in' had been to consent to sign the Recess if the following alterations were made in it: 'This clause concerning the Edict of Worms must be omitted *in toto*, because they no longer considered it binding.' The article of the earlier Spires Recess was to be 'retained with an introductory statement that those of the Estates which had preserved their hereditary customs and ceremonies were to be allowed in future, and until the meeting of the general council, to go on maintaining and exercising them, without any hindrance, persecution, or coercion; and that in like manner the other Estates were to be allowed the practice of their religion; further innovations or formation of sects should be discouraged as much as possible, and not countenanced by the ruling authorities. The administration of and attendance at the Catholic Mass, and the new form of Mass introduced by the princes, were to be reciprocally tolerated for the sake of peace, so that no one of the Estates outside its proper jurisdiction should do violence to another on account of the Mass.'

The 'protesting' princes declared themselves altogether unwilling to tolerate the Catholic form of worship within their secular jurisdiction.

Their protest against the article relating to the Sacrament they were ready, they said, to withdraw, because, as the Strassburg delegate had pointed out, this article, 'according to its literal meaning,' was not opposed to the Zwinglian doctrines, and was of a nature to prevent, rather than occasion, unnecessary discussion

and disputation. For the doctrines of Zwingli were not specifically mentioned in the article, and his disciples might therefore maintain that their teaching 'was not in opposition to the venerable Sacrament of the true Body and Blood of Christ.'

If these fresh proposals were not agreed to, the princes informed the King that, 'in accordance with their protestation, they should abide by the Recess of Spires.' It was in vain that Ferdinand once again urged on them that he was anxious to speak with them on matters which related especially to this Diet, and which concerned everybody. On April 22 they did not appear at the assembly. They learnt from the mediating princes that their proposals had not been accepted by the Diet, but that, on the contrary, the Recess had been ratified in its old form. Fourteen towns, however, amongst which were several of the Zwinglian persuasion, joined in the protest of the princes. These were: Strassburg, Nuremberg, Ulm, Constance, Lindau, Memmingen, Kempten, Nördlingen, Heilbronn, Reutlingen, Isny, St. Gall, Weissenburg, and Windsheim.

The 'protesters' had demanded that their protest should be incorporated in the Recess, and had declared that they would publish it abroad. Accordingly, after the session of April 22, King Ferdinand and the Catholic majority notified to them by a deputation of their leading councillors that 'it was impossible to comply with their request, because it was at variance with all established practice, and to accede to it would be setting up a dangerous precedent.' On the other hand, they were informed, the names of the protesting princes had not been recorded in the Recess, and

they were urged not to carry out their intention of publishing the Protest, as such a course would be extremely prejudicial to the Emperor, and would provoke fresh strife and disagreement between the King and the Estates. The King and the Estates assured the protesting princes that it was their wish and intention to continue on terms of peace and unity with them up to the time of the council if they, on their part, would keep peace with regard to the faith; they were also confident, they said, that after the Council matters would be put on an improved footing and peace be everywhere restored. The princes must rest satisfied with the knowledge that their Protest would be preserved among the Acts of the Diet, and that they were at liberty to send it to the Emperor.

But the protesters were not to be silenced. They could not acquiesce, they said, in their names being left out of the Recess, while their request to have their Protest included in it was refused, because cavillers, ignorant of the details of the situation, might easily say that they had refused their signatures to the Recess without adequate reasons; whereas, in truth, their sole aim had been the glory of God and peace and unity.[1]

On April 25 a formal document was drawn up by the protesters, in which appeal was made to the Emperor, to the future free council, and to every intelligent and impartial judge against all grievances, present and to come. This document was to have been sent to the Emperor by a special deputation; but immediately, without waiting, both the protest and the

[1] Ney, pp. 223–268; Bucholtz, iii. 397–400.

appeal were published by the Landgrave of Hesse on May 5, and by the Elector of Saxony on May 13.

On April 22, while still at Spires, the Saxon Elector, the Landgrave of Hesse, and the towns of Strasburg, Ulm, and Nuremberg concluded 'a separate secret alliance' for mutual defence against all attacks that should be made against them in the name of the 'Divine Word,' either by the Suabian League, the Kammergericht, or the Reichsregiment. The advisability of raising an army of 10,000 infantry and 2,000 cavalry was taken into consideration, and meanwhile, in case of urgent need, the princes were to equip 1,200 mounted soldiers, and the towns 3,000 Landsknechts, with artillery. Fuller deliberations concerning mutual aid were to be held on June 6 at a convention at Rotach.[1] Philip of Hesse, not satisfied with the result of his breach of the Landfriede in 1528, had determined to strike another blow in January 1529,[2] and shortly before the Diet he had taken Duke Otto of Brunswick-Lüneburg into his pay with 200 equipped horses.[3]

On the strength of the protest of Spires the new religionists now first stood out in the character of a distinct party in the State, and confronted the Emperor and the Catholic Estates as a strong political force.

It is from the Diet of Spires that the actual split in the German nation dates.

Melanchthon foresaw clearly and with much alarm

[1] Keim's *Schwäbische Reformationsgeschichte*; Ney, pp. 270–271.

[2] Melanchthon wrote regarding Philip, on January 23, 1529: 'Apud nos tranquillae res adhuc sunt, sed ille, de quo nuper, non quiescit, quem quidem nostri summa fide conantur retinere' (*Corp. Reform.* i. 1035).

[3] Ch. v. Rommel's *Philipp der Grossmüthige, Landgraf von Hessen*, ii. 214.

what would be the consequences for the Church and the Empire of this national disruption and of the establishment of a 'Protestant' League.

'I was so greatly alarmed,' he wrote to a friend after his return from Spires, 'that for the first few days I felt utterly annihilated; all the torments of hell seemed to press upon me.' 'This is a tremendous business and fraught with great danger; I tremble lest from these beginnings there should follow a convulsion of the Empire; and it is not the Empire alone that is in danger, but religion as well.[1] The condition of Church affairs,' he wrote to his most intimate friend, Camerarius, 'causes me anxiety which nothing can mitigate. Not a single day goes by on which I do not wish that my life was at an end.'[2]

There was no necessity for a Protestant league, said Luther on May 22, in a letter to the Elector of Saxony, for on the part of the papists there was nothing to be feared. 'Do not, therefore, proceed with this league, for it will only incite the opponents to form one also, and possibly to take measures for self-protection and defence, which otherwise they would not have thought of. Moreover it is to be feared—nay, rather, it is almost certain—that wherever that turbulent young Landgrave has started a league he will discover good reasons for not only acting on the defensive, but for resorting to aggression as he did a year ago.' The

[1] Letters in the *Corp. Reform.* i. 1068–1070. To Lazarus Spengler, in Nuremberg, he wrote, on May 17, 1529: 'Paene exanimatus sum harum rerum cogitatione. Et est periculum, ne qua imperii mutatio ex his principiis sequatur. Magna res est et periculi plena. Admonuimus etiam nostros, sed quid facturi sint nescio. Obsecro vos propter Deum, ut huius rei curam pro vestra prudentia et pietate suscipiatis. Non enim tantum imperium, sed religio etiam periclitatur.'

[2] *Corp. Reform.* i. 1110.

worst of all, said Luther, was that there were Zwinglians also in this league, 'Zwinglians who are fighting against God and the Sacrament as the most inveterate enemies of the Divine Word, and by allying ourselves with them we are taking all their ungodliness on our own shoulders and making ourselves participators therein.'[1]

Luther placed no great reliance on the help of the towns or the power of the 'Gospel' in the towns. 'If once the Emperor resorted to strong measures,' he said in a memorandum drawn up for the Elector of Saxony, 'it will then, too late, be discovered that the towns are not their own masters, and the league will collapse with shame and ignominy. Of this ample example is furnished by Mühlhausen, Nordhausen, Erfurt, Augsburg, Nuremberg, Schwäbisch-Hall, and so forth, all which towns at first were ready to devour the Gospel for love, and then suddenly fell away from it quite unconcernedly. Therefore it is to be feared that the same thing will happen with Ulm, Strassburg, &c., because there are many people in these towns who are enemies of the Gospel, and one or two men who at present are remaining silent and passive would then come forward in their true colours and turn the whole town upside down.' Once again in this memorandum Luther urged the extreme danger to this Protestant league on account of the Landgrave. 'Were the Landgrave to begin again the sort of game which he played before, storming churches and convents without our leave, we should be his accomplices in all that he might do.' 'Basle and Strassburg,' he added emphatically, 'by

[1] De Wette, iii. 454–456, with Burkhardt's emendations; *Luther's Correspondence*, p. 163.

their own arbitrary measures closed and captured church buildings which were not within their jurisdiction. Such proceedings as these we should be obliged to countenance.'[1]

When Luther sent in this memorandum to the Elector at the end of May 1529, the religious war was already threatening to break out in Switzerland.

The Catholic cantons had found it necessary to form a counter-league, in order to resist the Zwinglian confederates. At a Diet held at Lucerne in January 1529 the town council had made the following proposals to the cantons of Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwalden: 'that whereas Zürich and Berne were soliciting help within and outside the limits of the Confederation, were threatening Thurgau and the Rhine valley, and intending to surround all the Catholic strongholds, it was advisable that they should act in accordance with King Ferdinand's reiterated suggestion and form themselves into a Christian league for the sole maintenance of the faith, without political *arrière-pensées*.' On April 22 this league came into existence. The confederates pledged themselves to loyal adherence to the Catholic faith, and to the punishment of all innovators who should presume to attack this faith in the respective territories of the members of the league. They also agreed together not to take the initiative in any war, or to make any attacks

[1] De Wette iii. 465-467. On August 2, 1529, Luther wrote to Johann Brismann concerning Philip of Hesse: 'Juvenis ille Hassiae inquietus est et cogitationibus aestuat. Dominus servavit nos ipso biennio a duobus maximis incendiis, quibus tota Germania flagrasset, nisi Deus noster misertus potenti et mirabili manu obstitisset et consilia turbasset. Ita undique nobis plus est periculi a nostris quam ab adversariis' (De Wette, iii. 491).

on the unorthodox believers, except in case of necessity, when they would lend each other mutual assistance. This league was to confine itself solely to the maintenance of the faith, and to have no concern in political action or in any past occurrences. It was to be open to the admission of all persons of Catholic proclivities, and it was considered specially desirable that the Dukes of Lorraine and Savoy, the Bishop of Constance, and the towns of Ueberlingen, Ravensburg, Wangen, Freiburg, and Solothurn, and the canton of Valais should be invited to join it. On April 30 King Ferdinand informed the Swiss of the existence of the league between him and the five Catholic districts, taking care to emphasise strongly its purely pacific, defensive character.

Long before the formation of this league Zürich had already been intent on the conversion of the imperial abbey of St. Gall, with its extensive territory, into a secular lordship. The abbot Kilian had been heard to say publicly that 'he would not give up the Mass; that rather than do so he would forfeit his life and all his goods and chattels;' he must therefore be taken prisoner. 'The manner of life of these godless monks is at variance with God and with His holy Word, and is a veritable abomination in the sight of God,' said the council of Zürich at the beginning of May 1529 in a *Rathschlag* sent to Glarus. They therefore contemplated, 'seeing that they had taken up the cause of the Divine Word,' confiscating the abbey of St. Gall, with all its revenues, lands, privileges, and appurtenances, and also its government and jurisdiction, and transferring the whole estate bodily into the hands of the Forest cantons. The council hereby drew attention to

the good, worthy people in the Thurgau, the Rheinthal, in Toggenburg and St. Gall, who, next to God, pinned their faith on Zürich as the instrument of God. Berne, however, uttered warnings against a war of religion. 'Verily,' said the Bernese councillors, 'as we cannot drive faith into people with spears and halberds, there can be no good in going to war for this matter.' But Zwingli said, 'Be fearful for nothing; for by the goodness of God, and thanks to the preparations we have made, we shall be enabled to defend our cause in such a manner that you will have no reason either for repentance or shame at having cast in your lot with us.'

On June 5 Zürich ordered its troops to enter the free bailiwicks, and, on the following day, the commanders-in-chief received orders to pick out three or four hundred well-accoutred men to make an incursion into the Thurgau, the Rheinthal, and the district of St. Gall, to take the abbot captive, and to compel the inhabitants to swear allegiance to the town and canton of Zürich as to their lords and rulers. On June 8 Zürich sent its declaration of war to the five Catholic districts. Zwingli, mounted on horseback and armed with a halberd, cheered on the troops himself. The Catholic districts hastily equipped themselves for resistance, and the two bands of confederates now stood face to face for battle.

But the Catholics were not so strong as their opponents. The promised Austrian succour was not forthcoming, and on June 25 they were reduced to concluding peace at Cappel. By the terms of this treaty they were compelled to pay the expenses of the war and to dissolve the league with Ferdinand, while the 'Christian league of co-burgership' of the Zwin-

glian towns was to remain intact. Thus much, however, was conceded to the Catholic districts, that in the matter of their faith they were not to be coerced, and above all 'no one party was to be guilty of aggression, feuds, or hatred towards another for the sake of religion.'

While still in ignorance of the peace of Cappel Philip of Hesse wrote to Zwingli on July 1, 1529: 'I have been informed that the evangelical confederated districts intend equipping themselves for war, and that things may possibly come to a fight. If this should actually happen, and you should fear strong resistance, my advice to you would be to make a slight pause, and afterwards to look out for help, for verily a defeat is harmful. I have not the slightest doubt that if you can stand a little delay it would be immensely profitable to you. A word is enough for a wise man.'

Philip was at that time engaged in fresh military schemes for the reinstatement of Ulrich of Würtemberg. In May 1529 he had promised the covetous Bavarian Chancellor Eck 4,000 florins from himself (and the same amount from Ulrich) if he would bestir himself actively to obtain Bavaria's good will in this matter; he would also, he had said, in such a case support Duke William in his endeavours to obtain the royal crown of Germany. Francis I. of France was also at the time resorting to bribery to stir up disaffection in Germany.[1]

In this passage of arms with the Catholic cantons the Zwinglians had learnt the measure of their strength, and Zwingli now embarked on a war of extirpation

[1] See Melanchthon's letter to Camerarius of July 16, 1529: 'Omnino certum est pecunia externa [Gallica] multos in Germania sollicitari, ut aliquid moveant, sed Christus respiciat nos et propter sui nominis gloriam retineat pacem' (*Corp. Reform.* i. 1083).

against the strongholds of the orthodox faith. 'How will it please you,' said a citizen of Zürich to a representative of the Catholic districts, 'how will it please you when we Zürichers are lords over you all, and our "Meister Ulrich" is chief president of the whole confederacy?'[1]

A few weeks after the conclusion of the peace of Cappel fresh negotiations were opened up for bringing Strassburg into the league of 'Christian co-burgership.' The Suabian towns of Ulm, Memmingen, Lindau, Kempten, Biberach, and Isny also asked to be received into this league, 'so that they might enjoy protection for their religion,' and might, like the town of Constance, gradually loosen their connection with the Empire. The council of Constance advocated the admission of these towns into the league because 'by alliance with them other towns also which were favourably disposed to the "Gospel" would become "all the more resolute in the ways of God," and "would unite in withstanding the enemies of Christ."' The privy councillors of Zürich indulged in still more pious language. 'The merciful God,' they wrote to the privy councillors of Berne on July 31, 'was sending to them, the lovers of divine truth, strength and dexterity to withstand the worst devices of the godless ones.' Zwingli himself, in recommending the admission of these towns to the league, dwelt emphatically on the material and political advantages which would result from alliance with the imperial cities. 'Constance and Lindau,' he wrote, 'will be of the greatest service in case of a war, for they command the Lake of Constance and

[1] 'Reconciliation and concord would have reigned in all spirits,' says the Protestant Lüthi (p. 53), 'had Zwingli wished to hold loyally to the Peace' (of Cappel).

the *Untersee*. No one must grumble at the admission of Strassburg, for it will bring with it Schlettstadt and Colmar along with it, thus securing a free intercourse among the cities. Strassburg, moreover, will form a protecting screen for Constance and Lindau; for if the Emperor should in any way find fault with these two towns they will be able to answer that they belong to the same league as Strassburg.' It was pretty certain, however, that the Emperor would not make this a cause of war with anybody; only if he should ever come that way Strassburg would be most serviceable, for between that town and the Swiss there lay the two unprotected provinces of Sundgau and Alsace, which could not defend themselves, and which we should be able to take possession of and subdue, so that in all the district on this side of the Rhine there would be one people and one league. Thus in the event of war no great army could be led against us, while we, on the other hand, should be able any way to despatch two armies, of 15,000 men each, to two places, one by the Rhine out towards Hegau and the lake, another into the Sundgau and Alsatia, or else both together against the troops of the enemy to attack them both in the rear and in the van.'[1]

It would be easy, Zwingli said, to seize a good slice of Germany, for the common people would stand by Switzerland.

Philip of Hesse, who was in favour of the league of the Suabian towns with Switzerland, and who also, for the furtherance of his own revolutionary politico-religious schemes, was himself anxious to join the league of 'Christian co-burgership,' soon found an opportunity for personal negotiations with Zwingli.

[1] *Zwinglii Opp.* 2c, p. 27.

Disturbed by the warnings of Luther and Melanchthon, the Elector John of Saxony was no longer inclined to enter into alliance with the Zwinglian towns. The Landgrave in vain urged on him that the clause relating to the Sacrament, which formed the point at issue, was not of such very high importance; that they ought not to break with one another so lightly, although scholars were divided on the slighter matters of dispute. If they went on like this, there might be a fresh split every year. It would be both ridiculous and impolitic 'to let towns that would gladly join us slip out of our hands: for there was no slight cause to fear that if the South German towns, with their exceptionally brave warriors—all of them good evangelicals—were overcome, such a contingency would bring unavoidable and irreparable damage to us, who earnestly desire to abide by the Word of God, and that we should be left to defend ourselves unaided, when we might have had the support of 50,000 or 60,000 men.' 'We have often heard from our preachers,' said the Landgrave in a memorandum, 'that the Bohemians made a gallant stand and defeated the Emperor and the Empire; why, then, should not we also be able to hold our own? for we have just as good a cause against the Emperor as the Bohemians had.' [1]

The Landgrave, be it here remarked, who included the doctrine of the Sacrament among matters open to dispute, had not been present at the Lord's Supper a single time for many years past.[2]

Not having succeeded in moving the Elector from

[1] Rommel, ii. 218.

[2] Philip's letter to Luther, April 5, 1540. See Lenz's *Briefwechsel Philipp's mit Butzer*, p. 361.

his firm resolve, Philip determined to try and effect a union between the Lutherans and the Zwinglians by means of a religious conference, negotiations for which he had already set on foot at Spires. His idea was to form a general league of all Protestants against the 'papists and their rascally proceedings.' For this purpose he now invited both the 'protesting' parties to a so-called conference at Marburg on October 1, 1529.

For some years Luther had been writing in the most violent terms against Zwingli, and it was with great reluctance that he accepted the Landgrave's invitation. From the first he had little hope of bringing his opponent round again to his own doctrine of the Eucharist. Zwingli, so Luther asserted, had altogether lost his hold of Christ; his books were to be shunned like hell poison; his whole religion consisted in much babbling and screaming, in answering no arguments and understanding none. There could be no question of peace, brotherly love, and Christian unity between himself and Zwingli. 'Our party affirms that, according to the Word, Christ's veritable body and blood are present. If in so doing we are believing and preaching erroneously, what is it that we are doing? We are giving God the lie, and saying and preaching what He has not said, in which case we are indeed blasphemers and mockers of the Holy Ghost, betrayers of Christ, and misleaders of the world. Our antagonists say that it is mere bread and wine. Well, if they are believing and teaching what is false, it is they, and not we, who are blaspheming God, making the Holy Spirit a liar, betraying Christ, and misleading the world. One of these two parties, therefore, must be the devil's, and

one of them God's. There is no alternative.' That Zwingli would be reconverted he could not hope. 'It has never yet been heard of that any one has been converted who was himself the author of false doctrine; Christ Himself was never able to convert any of the High Priests, but only their disciples.' [1]

Melanchthon also protested against the conference at Marburg, and brought influence to bear on the Saxon Elector to induce him to refuse permission for the journey. But the Elector wished his theologians to attend, and Luther and Melanchthon were obliged to accept the Landgrave's invitation.

The Zwinglian preachers, on the contrary, responded eagerly, and rejoiced especially in the political objects of the conference.

'Secret political schemes will be discussed at this meeting,' wrote Capito to Zwingli in August 1529; it was therefore desirable that the Landgrave Philip, who was the head and soul of these plans, should come in contact with Zwingli, so that they might test each other's spirit and resolution. If only the Landgrave could be won over to the right doctrine, it would be easy to gain the others, so great were Philip's influence and the dependence in which the Elector of Saxony and the Margrave of Brandenburg stood to this famous prince. Through the influence, moreover, of that 'enthusiast

[1] Fuller details in G. J. Planck's *Geschichte der Entstehung, der Veränderungen und der Bildung unseres protestantischen Lehrbegriffs*, &c. &c., ii. 464–506. As early as October, 1525, Luther had said to Gregory Casel, whom Capito and Bucer had sent to Wittenberg for the purpose of coming to some agreement with Luther on the subject of the Eucharist: 'Any one who holds that the Body is not present, I will look on as an infidel.' 'When Christ spoke the words of consecration, He was not drunk. Therefore, one or the other party is of the devil. The Holy Ghost is no pettifogger.' Baum, 334–337.

for God,' Philip of Hesse, Bucer opined that it would be an easy matter to bring back into the right path all those Christians who placed too much faith in Luther.[1] Zwingli used to address the Landgrave as 'most holy prince.'[2]

The Marburg conference by no means fulfilled its object with regard to the dispute about the Sacrament; on the contrary it left the two parties more incensed and embittered against each other than before, for each ascribed the victory to itself and boasted of its triumph over the adversaries.

Bucer, in his account of the proceedings, complained especially of Melanchthon, who he said 'had been more violent than any one and had persistently poured oil on the fire.' Once, when Luther was on the point of recognising the Zwinglians as brethren, Melanchthon had pulled him back. Bucer attributed Melanchthon's behaviour to a political reason. 'He is very much in favour,' he said, 'with the Emperor and Ferdinand, and is on their side.'[3]

'At the end of the proceedings,' wrote Melanchthon to the Elector of Saxony, 'Zwingli and Oecolampadius were very solicitous that we should recognise them as brothers. But this we would by no means consent to do, and indeed we told them plainly that we wondered how their consciences could allow them to call us brethren when they held that our doctrine was erroneous. How, we said, could they tolerate that our

[1] Letters of August 4, 1529, in *Zwinglii Opp.* viii. 336, 340. 'Princeps hic zelum Dei habet et valet judicio, ut ab eo partim pendeant, partim queant in viam reduci parvo negotio, quicumque Christiani Lutherum nimium adorant.'

[2] 'Sanctissime princeps' (*Opp.* viii. 662).

[3] J. M. Baum's *Capito und Butzer*, &c., pp. 461-462.

opinions should be held, taught, and preached side by side with their own, which could only happen if we did not excommunicate each other?'[1]

Caspar Hedio relates that at a meal at which he, Luther, Melanchthon, Osiander, Jonas, Brenz, Myconius, and the magistrate of Eisenach were present, Luther pronounced the Benedicite, and that at the words 'hallowed be Thy name' he pressed his hands tighter together and said in a loud and angry voice, 'and let *our* name be damned by a thousand devils.'

The Wittenbergers, so Zwingli told the privy councillors of Zürich, had wriggled from side to side like snakes in the grass, and had changed from one opinion to another. 'Luther behaved all along in a high and mighty manner, and with proud, haughty language, according to his wont, he tried to carry his measures through without any arguments or explanations. All the lords and court people who were present at the conference said with one accord that Martinus had shown up very badly, and that there was very little in him except arrogant temper. Some of the preachers from Saxony complained secretly that Luther's madness frightened them from confessing the truth.[2] Zwingli, on the day of his return, wrote to Vadian: 'Luther has been demolished by us, so much so that the Landgrave himself has come over to our side, although for fear of some of the princes he does not dare proclaim his views

[1] *Corp. Reform.* i. 1101.

[2] The Protestant Planck (2,508) condemns Luther in severer terms than Zwingli. 'A distemper threatened to put an end to his life; and this distemper was visibly caused by the fact that his body could no longer endure to house a soul which for so long had been ravaged by the most repulsive passions. He pulled himself together; for his anger gave him strength; but this angry mood involved his spirit in a dark, misanthropic melancholy.'

openly at the Hessian court; nearly everybody has deserted Luther.'[1] The result of the conference was markedly favourable to the cause of Zwinglianism. The Landgrave not only gave permission for the spread of Zwingli's writings, but also recalled the Zwinglian preachers who had previously been expelled. 'You need have no doubt,' he wrote to Zwingli, 'that I intend to stand loyally by the truth, and to pay no regard to the Pope or the Emperor, to Luther or Melanchthon.'

But the most significant fact was that Philip and Zwingli came into agreement with regard to their politico-religious revolutionary schemes. They drew up at Marburg the plan of a Hessian-Swiss league of co-burgership, which Philip joined later on, and they agreed that the 'reinstatement of Duke Ulrich of Würtemberg should be the next political aim to be kept in sight.'[2] But their intentions embraced a much wider scope even than this. After his return from Marburg on November 2, 1529, Zwingli wrote to Philip: 'I believe that God has chosen your Grace for great purposes, which I see clearly in my mind, but dare not speak of. But there must be some one to bell the cat.'

The 'great things' referred to meant nothing less than the establishment of an evangelical empire and the overthrow of the Roman Empire of the German nation. This work was to be carried out with the help of foreign countries, especially Venice and France; hopes also were placed on succour from the Turks.

[1] *Zwinglii Opp.* viii. 370.

[2] H. Bullinger's *Reformationsgeschichte*, &c., ii. 236.

CHAPTER VIII

THE TURKS BEFORE VIENNA AND THE 'CHRISTIAN TURKS,' INTRIGUES OF THE ZWINGLIANS AGAINST THE EMPEROR AND THE EMPIRE, 1529–1530

On April 9, 1529, while the imperial Estates were assembled at Spires, Sultan Solyman had set out from Constantinople in order to deal out chastisement to the Emperor and King Ferdinand and to accomplish the subjugation of Germany. 'The Lord of Lords,' he called himself in a letter to the French King, 'the dispenser of crowns to the monarchs of the world, the shadow of God upon the earth.'[1] 'Our sovereign comes next to Allah,' said Mustapha, the Sultan's son-in-law, to Hieronymus Lasky, ambasssador of Zapolya; 'as there is only one sun in heaven, so there is only one Lord on earth.'

On the battle-field of Mohacs Zapolya fell at the Sultan's feet, kissed his hand, and called him 'the succourer of the whole world, who had innumerable servitors, both among Moslems and unbelievers.' Zapolya issued a public mandate summoning all Ferdinand's adherents, in the name of Solyman, to surrender, and threatening all who refused to do so with the severest punishments. 'The most powerful Ottoman sovereign,' he said, 'had resolved to exterminate them all.'

[1] Charrière, i. 116.

The approach of the Turks hastened on an 'unconditional treaty of peace' between the Emperor and the Pope. It was concluded at Barcelona on June 29, 1529, two months after the close of the Diet of Spires.

Francis I. also, who had 'nowhere been able to resist the victorious imperial troops in Italy,' was reduced to signing the peace of Cambray on August 5. He took a solemn oath to renounce all claims on Italy; but again on this occasion, as before at Madrid, he declared in a secret protest that this oath had been extorted from him and that he could not possibly renounce Asti, Genoa, and Milan.

Francis continued in secret alliance with the Turks, and on September 1 he concluded a treaty with Zapolya by which the latter was to adopt as his son and successor on the throne of Hungary the Duke of Orleans, son of the French King.[1]

After Buda had fallen into the hands of the Turks the Sultan gave orders, on September 8, for the advance on Vienna.

During his march thither all the towns and castles, with the exception of Pressburg, surrendered to the barbarous conqueror. On September 21 the Sultan's 'marauding horsemen' appeared before Vienna, having devastated everything with fire and sword on their way. The Viennese themselves set fire to the suburbs and demolished the castle on the Kahlenberg, the ancient residence of the Dukes of Austria. The garrison of the town numbered at the time barely 12,000 cavalry and infantry. Of the imperial contingent promised at the

[1] Charrière, i. 162–169. Concerning the intrigues of Francis I. with the Turks see the 'Maneggio della pace di Bologna,' in E. Albèri's *Le Relazioni degli Ambasciatori Veneti al Senato durante il secolo decimosesto*, Ser. 2, vol. iii. p. 150.

Diet of Spires only 100 mounted soldiers and fourteen companies of infantry had arrived.

When the Sultan reached Vienna, said Ibrahim Pasha later on, and found no imperial army there, 'he seated himself on the ground and opened that august breast in which are locked up all the horrors of war to show that the rightful sovereign was there in the fulness of his power.' He would not lie down to rest, he boastfully asserted, till the prayer of the Prophet had been repeated from the tower of the Church of St. Stephen's and the whole of Christendom subdued. The Turkish army, consisting of 250,000 men and 25,000 tents, was disposed in sixteen camps. The besieged capital, under the generalship of Count Nicholas von Salm, held out for eighteen days; 'braving death they made desperate sallies against the enemy, and soldiers and civilians together repulsed five dogged assaults.' According to the Turkish historians, 'the accursed Christians made daily sallies from the fortress and never paused in their valiant defence. The righteous fought side by side with the unrighteous; the clashing of the sabres was like the roaring of lions; our gallant soldiers tore out pieces of flesh with their lances from the hearts of the idolaters and ate them up.' After the last unsuccessful assault on October 14 the janissaries threw the captive priests and peasants into the fire and butchered nearly 1,000 women and children. The complaints of his troops at the coldness of the weather compelled the Sultan to raise the siege on October 16. 'God in His almighty providence had postponed the conquest to a later date.' [1]

But the Turkish historians knew how to boast of

[1] A. Huber's *Geschichte Oesterreichs*, iv. 23 ff.

mighty deeds of war. 'The Sultan, who orders the times and the seasons, had sent out his marauding cavalry to trample the entire country under their horses' hoofs. Towns, boroughs, villages, and hamlets were devoured by flames. Houses and palaces were reduced to ashes and cinders. The victorious army carried off captive young and old, women as well as men. The once thriving land was now like unto the region of darkness. Beautiful women were bought and sold in the camps and in the tents, and there was no end to the plunder and rapine.' [1]

The Sultan had not succeeded in subjugating the bulwarks of Germany and of Western Christendom, but in Hungary he now considered himself 'lord and master.' 'I have conquered Hungary,' he wrote to the Venetians on November 10, 'and I have given the crown that fell into my hands to Zapolya.'

The Venetians, who had acted all along as spies to the Turks, hastened to congratulate the Voyvode on his coronation 'by the grace of the Sultan,' and promised to urge Solyman to leave an efficient Turkish army behind him in Hungary. Hieronymus Lasky, who had been commissioned by Zapolya to incite the Turks to a campaign against Austria, informed the Duke of Bavaria's secretary, Weissenfelder, that 'if King Ferdinand did not surrender, the Turks would tread Bohemia under foot in like manner as they had done to Austria; the other German princes had nothing to fear from the Turks, unless they should back up Ferdinand. He (Lasky) had concluded a treaty to this effect with the Sultan.' On November 26 Zapolya despatched the Jew Lazarus, who had been employed by the Dukes of Bavaria as

[1] Bucholtz, iii. 285–305.

agent in their transactions with Zapolya, with secret commissions to Munich. 'We must either be friends with the Sultan, or else submit to the Emperor,' was the saying in circles hostile to Charles V. The Venetians, also, after having concluded peace with the Emperor, sent a deputation to Constantinople with the solemn assurance that, 'come what might, Venice would always be faithful to its treaty and friendship with Turkey.'[1]

The Emperor had landed at Genoa in August with a large contingent of Spanish troops, and in December 1529 peace was concluded at Bologna between him and Venice. Charles had already before this become reconciled with Duke Sforza of Milan, had generously absolved him from legal procedure, and had restored his duchy to him. The peace with Venice included the rest of the Italian States, with the exception of Florence. By the terms of the treaty this town was to be restored to the Medici, and it had to be coerced into submission by force of arms.

The Emperor and the Pope had met at Bologna and had continued for several weeks in strictly private deliberation on the position of affairs. On February 22, 1530, Charles was presented with the crown of Lombardy, and on the 24th he received the imperial crown at the hands of the Pope, and prepared to set out on his journey to Germany.

A deputation which the Protestant notables had sent to Piacenza to excuse and justify their conduct at Spires had been received ungraciously by the Emperor. In their instructions for their envoys the notables had explained that their reason for not agreeing to the

[1] Maneggio, p. 160.

Recess of Spires was that 'they could not be guilty of flagrant, damnable sin against God by consenting to it;' 'in matters relating to the honour of God and to conscience each one must be accountable for himself to God; if once their opponents could convince them out of the word of God that they were mistaken, they would forthwith renounce their errors; it was the duty of every Christian, for the sake of his soul's salvation, to have regard neither to the voice of the multitude nor to ancient usages, but only to the plain word of God.'

The notables took no heed of the fact that there was no question whatever in the Recess of thwarting or tyrannising over the Protestants with regard to what they held to be the pure word of God; but the Emperor dwelt on this point emphatically in his answer to the envoys on October 14. 'The decree of Spires,' he said, 'had no further object than to prevent, from henceforth, any fresh innovations, and the formation of fresh religious sects (of which so many execrable ones had already sprung up), in order that peace and unity might be established in the Empire. For this reason the Elector of Saxony and his friends ought to have consented to the decree. He (the Emperor) and the rest of the Estates felt no less concern for the salvation of their souls, and no less respect for their consciences, than did the Protestants; he too wished as much as they did for a general Council, although it would not be so indispensable if the decisions arrived at at Worms with agreement of all the Estates were generally conformed to.

'Since, however, it was the traditional usage of the Empire that what had been decided by a majority of

the Estates could not be overthrown by a minority, he had issued a command to the Elector and his party that, in accordance with the duty they owed to him and to the Empire, they were to conform to the last decree issued at the Diet of Spires; otherwise he would be compelled, as head of the Empire, and for the sake of example, to proceed to stringent measures against them.'[1]

The Emperor, however, after renewed assurance from the Pope that he would convene a general Council, still clung firmly to the hope of being able to smooth over the religious disputes and restore tranquillity in the Empire, without having to resort to force.

On January 21 Charles had already summoned the Estates from Bologna to a Diet at Augsburg for April 8. He was most careful in his mandate to avoid anything which might excite apprehension in the minds of the Protestants; he even abstained from any allusion to past acts of violence in ecclesiastical matters. He depicted the Turkish danger in vivid colours, and appealed earnestly to the Estates to lose no time in adopting effectual measures against future Ottoman invasions, and not to grudge or delay the help necessary for saving Christendom. On this last point, he said, he intended to confer with them at Augsburg.

'With a view to the restoration of unity in the holy empire of the German nation' it was his intention 'to confer with the notables concerning the schism in the faith, and to come to a definite decision as to what

[1] Hortleder's *Ursachen*, p. 47 ff.; Walch, *Luther's Werke*, xvi. 542–624.

would be the best means of leading the people back to doctrinal unity.'[1]

Meanwhile Philip of Hesse and Zwingli had left no stone unturned to raise fresh enemies against the Emperor, who should either thwart and hinder him in his policy or, if possible, prevent his entry into the Empire. What Philip was plotting, and the course to which he was endeavouring to incite the Elector of Saxony, is gathered from a memorandum which Luther addressed to the Elector at the end of the year 1529, 'dissuading him from entering the field against the Emperor.' 'Even,' he said, 'supposing the Emperor were intending to proceed against the Gospel with force, you could not with a good conscience take up arms against him. And for this reason, that such a course would be unseemly and also contrary to natural justice. For it is not justifiable to draw the sword and make war except for defence against actual aggression, or in cases of unavoidable necessity. Now it is well known that his Imperial Majesty has not yet issued any manifestoes against the princes; or even if any had been or were about to be issued the sentence of outlawry has not yet been pronounced.' Moreover, it would be unjust to our opponents and to the princes of the Empire so soon to fall foul upon them and their subjects for the sake of the Emperor.[2]

[1] Müller, pp. 412–419.

[2] See De Wette-Seidemann, vi. 105–108. For the date see Hessencamp, i. 212, note 5. Nobody feared the Emperor, wrote Luther to J. Propst on November 10, 1529. 'Si enim vi aliquid praesumserit, periculum est, ut se et universos suos sacerdotes funditus perdat. Sunt enim consilia et auxilia parata, nisi Deus adversetur, satis valida in perniciem omnium collegiorum et monasteriorum, quod non sit eis tutum contemta pace et patientia nostrorum aliquid tentare' (De Wette, iii.

In December 1529 the Council of Zürich sent Professor Rudolf Collin, Zwingli's most intimate friend, on a secret embassy to Venice, in the name of all the towns belonging to the league of 'Christian co-burgership' in order to contract an alliance against the Emperor, and also to persuade the Venetian Republic to barricade its passes against the Emperor on his way to Germany.

During his stay at Venice, Collin formed an alliance with the demagogue Michael Geismayr, who had headed the Tyrolese insurgents in the social revolution in 1525, and those of Salzburg in 1526, and was now about to make a fresh inroad into the Tyrol 'with 8,000 German foot soldiers and a contingent of Venetian horse and artillery.' The Emperor, so Geismayr said, contemplated setting all the German princes and towns by the ears, and it was therefore necessary to frustrate his plans.

For this purpose Ulrich of Würtemberg was, at the same moment, to lead an army into his own territory.[1]

Zwingli spoke in favour of this plan of Geismayr's, and Philip of Hesse promised Zwingli to come forward in support of Ulrich as soon as he had learnt what line the Venetians and the towns of Zürich, Bern, and Basle meant to take.[2]

But the Venetians had just concluded peace with the Emperor, and were not disposed to join a league

524). In April 1530 Luther remonstrated with the Elector against the wholesale pulling down of houses for the fortification of the castle of Wittenberg. 'Nearly one-third of the town was being ruined' (Burchhardt, *Briefwechsel*, pp. 494–495).

[1] Concerning Michael Geismayr see our statements, vol. ii. pp. 478, 482 ff., 515, 593, 599 (*Engl. Transl.* iv. 190, 195–196, 240, 336, 343).

[2] Letter of February 14, 1530 (*Zwinglii Opp.* viii. 534).

against him immediately; they declared that they were ignorant of any hostile intentions on the part of Charles against the Confederates. The Doge, however, secretly intimated to the ambassador that, in the event of war with the Emperor, Switzerland might count on the approval of Venice, possibly also on secret support and succour in soldiers, provisions, money, and munitions. Philip and Ulrich accordingly urged Zwingli to bring the transactions with the powerful republic to a definite conclusion; there must be no delay, for Venice might be very useful.[1]

The conspirators also applied for support to France, although they knew that Francis I., only a few months before, had signed the peace of Cambray.

Zwingli submitted to the French general, Lambert Meigret, the draft of a treaty which had been drawn up with the knowledge of the Zürich Council,[2] according to which France and the confederates were to enter into alliance, for a term of fifteen or twenty years, in defence of the Christian religion against the aggression and tyranny of the Roman Empire, towards which the French and the Swiss 'had hitherto opposed stouter resistance than any other princes and peoples, whereby they had maintained their independence.' Into this league Zwingli was anxious also to draw Philip of Hesse, 'who is,' he said, 'almost entirely at our command,' Ulrich of Würtemberg, and the towns of Strassburg and Constance.[3] Zwingli also hoped to win some other German towns bordering on Switzerland, over which he said he had great influence.

[1] See the letter in cipher of February 15, 1530, in *Zwinglii Opp.* viii. 412, and also Escher's *Glaubensparteien*, p. 145 ff.

[2] 'De Foedere Gallico,' in *Zwinglii Opp.* pp. 416–418.

[3] 'Apud illum possumus fere quicquid volumus.'

But the answer of France was as follows: 'The time was not ripe for plans of this description; the soil was not ready to receive the seed; moreover the King's sons were still in captivity to the Emperor, and their release might be retarded if news of this scheme should get afloat.' Francis I. pointed on to the future. Friendship and concord between him and the Swiss, he said to the latter in February 1530, 'was more essential to both parties than words could express:' he, 'for his part, would rather give up all that he possessed on earth than lose their favour.'

The Landgrave's hope that Zwingli would bring the French King to the point of 'doing quickly what he meant to do' was not realised. He still, however, hoped confidently to be able to form a league against the Emperor in Germany.

'I am in hopes,' he wrote to Zwingli concerning the Emperor on February 1, 1530, 'that by the providence of God our Pharaoh's wings will be clipped, and a fate which he little expects will overtake him; for all things are working together for the best. God's ways are wonderful.'

It was a matter of regret to the Landgrave that Sultan Solyman had not succeeded in conquering Vienna. But he comforted himself with the reflection that no one was to blame for the retreat of the Turks; the mortality among his soldiers was the sole cause of it; and there was every reason to expect that they would come again the following summer.[1] 'I have great hopes,' he wrote again on March 10, 'of enticing into this game many people whom nobody calculates on. I keep on writing to my envoys at Basle that they must

[1] *Zwinglii Opp.* viii. 405–406.

negotiate with Zürich and Basle.' Everything was to be done with the utmost secrecy. 'You know my handwriting,' he said; 'there is no need for a signature.'[1]

In order to influence the towns of the 'Christian co-burgership' in favour of an alliance with the Landgrave, the council of Zürich notified to them that it was quite certain that Philip had 'as many as 2,000 cavalry troops in his own province alone, not to speak of the help he could command from the other princes and towns with which he was on friendly terms.' Philip, said the council, 'was in secret understanding with the King of Denmark, the Dukes of Gueldres, Lüneburg, Mecklenburg, and Brunswick, and with Zweibrücken, Brandenburg, Friesland, and other places, all staunch supporters of evangelical doctrine and determined to fight for it.' When once a treaty was concluded between the Landgrave and Strassburg, 'then there would be but one common cause, one heart, one mind, one will, from the borders of the sea right across into our country.' 'If only Strassburg joins us,' the Landgrave had said to the deputation from Zürich, 'it would then be just the same as if the town was our next-door neighbour.' No one could then hinder him from coming to the help of the Swiss at any time, in case of need.

Philip now sent a deputation to Zürich, Berne, and Basle, earnestly entreating these towns 'for the glory of God and the enlargement and consolidation of the Christian community to receive Duke Ulrich of Würtemberg also into the league of "Christian co-burgership."'

Berne, however, in spite of Zwingli's[2] repeated

[1] *Zwinglii Opp.* viii. 426–427. [2] *Ibid.* ii. 81.

exhortation, would have no dealings either with Philip or with Ulrich. With Strasburg, on the other hand, Berne, Zürich, and Basle entered into an alliance of 'co-burgership' on January 5, 1530. 'Strassburg has allied itself with the Confederates,' wrote the Lutheran Lazarus Spengler to Brenz, 'and I am indeed greatly alarmed. For I fear great misfortune may befall this city in consequence—first, because it has forsaken the Christian Estates and attached itself to the league of the ranting Zwinglians; secondly, because the sole object of this alliance is to maintain their godless heresies; thirdly, because the town is accepting foreign protection and friendship against its liege lord and rightful defender, the Emperor Charles.'

In order to win over the Duke of Savoy, Berne, said one of the preachers, ought to point out to him that 'if he became a follower of the Gospel' the greater part of the Church lands would fall to the ducal exchequer.[1]

Philip, highly displeased at Berne's refusal to receive Duke Ulrich into the league of co-burgership, concluded on April 3, 1530, a secret treaty with Duke Henry of Brunswick, Ulrich's brother-in-law, by the provisions of which the two princes were pledged, in case the Emperor did not give back the dukedom to the outlaw before June 24, to 'enter the field on July 25 with the strongest force they could muster, in order to reinstate Ulrich.' On April 13 King Frederick of Denmark, in a treaty at Gottorp, promised the Landgrave 400 cavalry troops within three months.

'Sorrow and anxiety about public affairs,' said Melanchthon on April 10 to the Saxon Vice-Chancellor

[1] Herminjard, 2238.

Franz Burkhart, 'are wearing me out. Nobody believes that Antiochus (Philip of Hesse) will come to the Diet at Augsburg; it is an undoubted fact that he is equipping for war with all his energies.' The preachers, Capito and Bucer, on the other hand, in a letter to Zwingli, expressed their great delight at Philip's proceedings. 'The Hessian alone,' wrote Capito on April 22, 'keeps watch over public affairs; all the rest of them are asleep; he is busy preparing for war.'[1] Bucer wrote on May 4: 'From zeal for Christ Philip is burning with hatred not only against the papists but also against those ill-advised Lutherans.'[2]

At a Diet at Basle, Zürich, Berne, and Constance consulted as to the best means of drawing the Lutherans 'into the game against their will,' supposing that the Emperor should leave the latter in peace and only take measures against the Zwinglians. The French King was to be secretly informed that Charles would presumably endeavour to utilise the German towns for his own ends; if he should succeed in this, the German princes also would without doubt be 'drawn in' and subjugated to the imperial yoke, and then France would be hemmed in between the German and Spanish nations, and it would be impossible for the King of France henceforth to obtain German soldiers—that is to say, *Landsknechts*.

Such was the condition of things under which the Diet of Augsburg was opened.

[1] *Zwinglii Opp.* viii. 446. [2] *Ibid.* viii. 449.

CHAPTER IX

THE DIET OF AUGSBURG AND THE EMPEROR'S EFFORTS AFTER PEACE, 1530—FERDINAND ELECTED KING OF THE ROMANS, 1531

On June 15, 1530, the Emperor made his entry into Augsburg. The Elector of Mayence delivered the speech in honour of the occasion, 'and while he was reading the speech his Imperial Majesty stood bare-headed; but the electors and princes held themselves as stiff and upright as the Emperor bowed himself low.' The following day was the festival of Corpus Christi, and the Emperor made public confession of his Catholic faith by joining in the procession. 'His Imperial Majesty,' says a report, 'and also King Ferdinand and many other princes and lords, joined personally in the procession and followed the host. First came a number of counts and retainers of the Emperor's court, carrying lighted candles, and after them the trumpeters and several men with cymbals. Then followed the episcopal Elector of Mayence, bearing the host under the canopy and supported on his right hand by his Royal Majesty of Hungary, and on his left by the Elector Margrave Joachim. The canopy was carried by six princes. The Emperor followed it, wearing a brown velvet mantle, carrying

a lighted taper in his hand, and followed by all the other princes and lords, with a great crowd of people besides.'[1]

The Protestant princes had refused the Emperor's request that 'for the glory of God' they would accompany the procession, saying that 'this kind of divine service was nowhere enjoined in the prophetical and apostolical writings.' 'Moreover it was recognised by all reasonable, learned, and judicially minded Christians that the whole and unmutilated use of the true Body and Blood of Christ had been ordained and instituted by the Founder himself; and that it was contrary to Christ's commandment to carry about one part of it —namely, the Body. It would be gross irreverence, blasphemy, and sin to show greater regard for a ceremony introduced by men than for the commandment of God; they had no intention of adding their presence to swell the masquerading parade of the Corpus Christi; such godless performances ought rather to be clean abolished from the Church.'[2]

The Protestants could not be brought to see that such an answer as this must be deeply wounding to the Emperor and the Catholic notables.

They also refused to acquiesce in the Emperor's request that they would enjoin their preachers to discontinue their sermons during the sitting of the Diet. When the Emperor insisted on compliance with this demand, the Margrave George of Brandenburg-Culmbach declared that 'he would rather have his head cut

[1] For the Emperor's entry into Augsburg see J. May's *Der Kurfürst, Cardinal und Erzbischof Albrecht II. von Mainz und Magdeburg*, ii. 156–158; Kolde's *Analecta Lutherana*, pp. 124–136.

[2] Walch, xvi. 876–878.

off than swerve one iota from God's word.' To which Charles answered, 'Lieber Prinz, nicht Kopf abhauen, nicht Kopf ab' (Dear Prince, no heads are to come off). The Emperor then made the conciliatory proposal that during the Diet 'the preaching on both sides should be suspended,' and only those appointed by him should deliver sermons, 'without touching on questions under dispute.'[1]

On June 20 the Diet was inaugurated by a solemn High Mass in the cathedral. Vincenzo Pimpinelli, papal nuncio to King Ferdinand, preached a sermon on the crusade against the Turks, showing how important it was for the success of such a war that there should be unanimity in the faith. 'He did not mention Luther's name,' writes one of the new religionists, 'but he said, "When St. Peter, with his keys, is not looked on with reverence, St. Paul must strike in with the sword."' 'At the end of the sermon,' the writer goes on to say, 'the Emperor went up to the altar for the offertory, and the Elector of Saxony carried his sword. After him the King and all the electors made their offering; those of our party, however, with derisive laughter!' The Landgrave Philip alone abstained from the offertory, but he was present at the Mass.

In his proposal to the Estates the Emperor stipulated that the question of defence against the Turks should come on first for debate, and after that the settlement of the religious disputes. The Protestants, who had resolved beforehand that the supply of Turkish aid should be made dependent on concessions in reli-

[1] It is not true that the Emperor, at the very beginning, and before the Protestant princes had manifested opposition, had commanded both parties to be silent.

gion, insisted that the religious question should be dealt with first.

With regard to this point the Emperor moved 'that the Electors, Princes, and all the Estates of the Empire should write down their opinions on this question in German and Latin, in order to expedite the debate and the decision. He also wished the transactions with regard to putting down abuses to be carried on in the same way; the spiritual Order was to write out a list of its grievances against the laity, and the laity theirs against the clergy, and hand in their statements, when consultation would be held as to the best means of restoring Christian unanimity.'

On June 24 the papal legate, Campeggio, exhorted the notables in mild and conciliatory language not to sever themselves from the Catholic Church, to which all the other kings and powers were devoted. 'Let those,' he said, 'who had joined new sects consider what they were about, and those who had remained loyal persevere in their loyalty; by contempt of religion many a flourishing empire had fallen into weakness and ruin.'

The Protestant princes now had resort to the argument that by the innovations they had sanctioned they had not separated themselves from the Catholic Church, but had only gone back to the true meaning of the Apostles and Fathers. Through Brück, Chancellor to the Elector of Saxony, as their mouthpiece, they declared openly before this same Diet that 'they were well aware that they had been complained of to the Emperor, and made to appear guilty in his eyes; and that they had been accused by many of having raked up old heresies and introduced fresh ones, and of being

advocates of dangerous innovations. They therefore prayed the Emperor and the other princes that, in self-justification, they might be allowed briefly to expound the substance of their doctrine, their tenets with regard to religion and Church customs, and the manner in which the Gospel was being preached in their own territories.'

This exposition was made before the Emperor and the notables on June 25, drawn up in German and Latin writing, and signed by the Elector John of Saxony and his son John Frederick, the Margrave George von Brandenburg-Culmbach, the Dukes Francis and Ernest of Brunswick-Lüneburg, the Landgrave Philip of Hesse, Prince Wolfgang of Anhalt, and the delegates of the towns of Nuremberg and Reutlingen.

The memorandum handed in was a document composed by Melanchthon and approved of by Luther, which later on, under the title of the Augsburg Confession of Faith,[1] obtained the authority of a Creed.

This document, after a prefatory appeal to a 'free Christian Council' in the contingency of a failure to reach Christian unity on the controverted points, consisted of two parts, the first of which contained twenty-one Articles summing up the tenets of the Protestant faith; while the second, in seven sections, dealt with so-called abuses and human institutions, such as the use of one element only in the Communion, the enforced celibacy of priests, the custom of paid and private Masses, compulsory confession, laws of fasting and abstinence, monastic vows and episcopal authority.

The first part ended with the words, 'Seeing now that the sum and substance of the teaching in the Holy

[1] See Appendix, n. xviii.

Scriptures has been clearly set forth, and that it is in no wise contrary to the universal Christian—or rather, we would say, the Roman Church (so far as we gather from the writings of the Fathers)—we take for granted that our opponents cannot reasonably disagree with us in any of the above articles. Therefore we consider such persons to be acting in a wholly unfriendly and unchristian manner who presume to reject, expel, or shun our people as heretics, without any warrant from divine commandment or Holy Writ. For all this wrangling and dissension is chiefly about unimportant matters of tradition and abuses; and, as in the essential points there is no discrepancy or real difference, and as our confession of faith is godly and Christian, the bishops ought in justice, even should we appear to be somewhat wanting in respect for traditions, to adopt a more lenient attitude towards us; although at the same time we hope to show good reason why we consider it right to alter and amend certain traditional customs and abuses.'

To which the Catholics answered that if they (the Protestants) were really convinced that in all essential matters the Roman Catholic Church taught the right doctrine, and that they were really at one with the Protestants in all these points, 'why had they raised such a hue and cry for so many years past; why had they condemned the Papacy, denounced the Pope as Antichrist, set themselves up as rulers and legislators of the Church in place of the bishops, and oppressed and persecuted all those who wished to remain true to the faith and worship of the Roman Church?'[1] The Protestants asked for justice and

[1] *Contra Lutheranismum*, p. 42.

toleration from the bishops, 'even should they seem somewhat wanting in respect for tradition;' but they themselves showed no lenience or toleration with regard to time-honoured Church traditions, and no mercy for the abuses in the outward life of the Church, for which, indeed, they held the Church herself responsible.'[1]

Melanchthon even went so far as to try and make the papal legate believe that there was no difference between the Roman Catholic and the Protestant creeds. 'We have no dogmas,' he said on July 6, 'which differ from the Roman Church. Moreover we are ready to submit to the Roman Church if Rome, with the lenience which she has at all times shown to all nations, will consent to overlook and keep silence on some slight matters which we cannot alter, even if we wished to do so. We reverence the authority of the Pope of Rome, and are prepared to remain in allegiance to the Church if only the Pope does not repudiate us. For no other reason are we hated as we are in Germany than because we defend and uphold the doctrines of the Roman Church with so much persistence. And this loyalty to Christ and to the Roman Church we shall preserve until our latest breath, even should the Church refuse to receive us back into its favour.'[2]

On this same July 6 Luther, in an exposition of the second Psalm, addressed to Archbishop Albert of Mayence, wrote the following words: 'I beseech you, my lords, all of you, see well to it, and remember that you are not dealing with human beings when you have affairs with the Pope and his crew, but with veritable devils.'[3]

[1] C. Riffel's *Christliche Kirchengeschichte der neuesten Zeit*, &c., ii. 390.

[2] *Corp. Reform.* ii. 169-171. [3] *Collected Works*, liv. 167-168.

Melanchthon himself, five weeks later, in a memorandum which he drew up for the Elector in conjunction with the other Saxon theologians, called the Pope 'an Antichrist under whose rule they would be like the Jews under Pharaoh in Egypt,' &c.[1]

It was of vital importance to the Protestant party, they now saw, to establish that the doctrine of justification by faith alone, which Luther and his followers had set up, was by no means new, but that it coincided with the teaching of St. Augustine, the foremost teacher of the early Church. In the 'Confession of Augsburg' also, Melanchthon asserted that 'the statement that there was nothing new in Luther's doctrine of faith could be proved from the writings of Augustine, who had gone carefully into this matter, and had also taught that it is by faith, and not by works, that we attain to the grace of Christ and are justified before God.'

But in a private letter of his it transpires that Melanchthon was fully conscious of the direct antagonism between the new teaching and that of St. Augustine. 'Augustine,' he wrote to a friend in May 1531, 'is under the impression that we are considered righteous in consequence of the fulfilment of the law which the Holy Ghost moves us to. I myself quote Augustine as being entirely in agreement with us on account of the general persuasion concerning him, although he does not explain justification by faith altogether satisfactorily. Believe me this vexed question of justification is an obscure and difficult one. But you will obtain a right comprehension of it if you turn your eyes completely away from the law, and from

[1] *Corp. Reform.* ii. 234.

St. Augustine's conception of the fulfilment of the law, and keep your mind fixed on the promise through grace.'[1]

In the articles of the Confession which related to 'justification by faith' the word 'alone,' which Luther had always laid the greatest stress on, was omitted.

With regard to this Confession the Emperor submitted the following resolution to the Estates: 'The Protestants were at once to be asked if they would recognise him (Charles) as arbiter in the matter. In case they refused to do so it was to be conceded to them, as an extreme and final measure, that a general Council should be held, in order that an attempt might be made to satisfy them by well-founded arguments; but this only on condition that they desisted temporarily from the novel religious practices they had introduced, and conformed at any rate to the edict of Worms. With regard to the alleged abuses it was in the highest degree essential that measures should be taken against them, and the sooner the better, by the Pope and his legates, because the complaints in this respect were just and reasonable, and attention to them might be the means of persuading the five princes to re-enter the Church. The princes must be induced either by 'gentleness and graciousness,' or, if these were of no avail, 'by judicious severity,' to choose between the alternatives offered them, the arbitration of the Emperor or that of the Council; but disputations with them concerning the

[1] *Corp. Reform.* ii. 501–502. 'In Augustine,' writes Luther in his *Commentary on the First Epistle of St. John*, 'one finds scant mention of faith; no mention whatever in Jerome. Not one of the ancient teachers is clear and straightforward in teaching the pure faith. Virtues and good works they extol often enough, but the faith very seldom.' Walch, 9, 1054.

faith must be avoided. In either case it would be necessary 'to have the Confession of Faith examined by wise and learned men, in order to point out to its authors wherein it erred; to decide what in it was serviceable to the holy faith and might be left standing; and to disprove the unorthodox tenets with sound Scriptural arguments, fitly and moderately, as the case required.' Everything must be done with moderation, in order to win over the Protestants, and not to drive them to despair and to greater obstinacy than before. If, however, they should reject both of these means of reconciliation, and should be determined to persist stiff-neckedly in their opinions and course of action, it would have to be considered what measures should be resorted to against them, and whether punishment was advisable; and if it should be found that nothing but force would avail, what particular means of coercion should be adopted.

The notables declared themselves in accord with the Emperor in the matter of the Council, and asked for an expansion of the Edict of Worms with regard to the many novel and alarming unchristian doctrines that had come into vogue since the proclamation of the edict.

With regard to the regulation which was to be drawn up 'it seemed advisable to them that his Imperial Majesty, as Roman Emperor and protector and administrator of the Christian faith, should read out the said regulation to the five princes and discuss it with them. If then these princes refused to desist from their proceedings, the Emperor might appoint a committee of the estates to negotiate amicably with the

princes, in the hope that by this means, with the help of God, the errors and schisms in the faith might be brought to a happy termination.'

The Emperor stated his conviction that this advice was 'given in all loyalty of heart,' and expressed the hope 'that most of the errors might be removed in the manner indicated, and all dissensions healed and obliterated by means of the future Council.'

The work of examining and refuting the Confession of Augsburg was committed to several Catholic theologians, then present in Augsburg, chief among whom were Eck, Faber, Cochläus, Bartholomäus Arnoldi von Usingen, Wimpina, and Dietenberger. By July 13 they sent in 'a reply,' which, however, owing to its lengthiness and the acrimony and offensiveness of its tone, was not accepted by the Emperor and the Catholic notables. The theologians were obliged to reconstruct their 'answer' several times before it was passed by the Diet, and on August 3 it was read before the notables in the chapter room of the Archbishop of Augsburg's palace, where, on June 25, the Augsburg Confession had also been read. This 'reply,' called later on the 'Confutation,' in spite of its mild and dignified character, made no impression whatever on the Protestants.[1] It was in vain that the Emperor implored them to give in, and not to force him 'as head of the Christian Church to take further steps against them.' Charles acceded to their request to let them have a copy of the 'reply,' but on condition that they did not draw up a counter-reply, or embark on any negotiations, or let the document go out of their hands or get into

[1] The best criticism of the 'Confutation' is that of Wedewer, in Dietenberger, pp. 131 ff.

print. But the princes would not agree to these terms.[1]

The Catholic notables on August 6 elected a committee of sixteen members, lay and clerical, with a view to arriving at an amicable settlement on the religious question.

On the same day, however, Philip of Hesse left the town secretly and in disguise, without permission from the Emperor and without the knowledge of the notables. By this conduct he gave rise to all sorts of talk among the common people about deserting the Gospel, intended insurrection, and secret alliances which he was suspected of negotiating. It was generally feared that he would collect an army, 'as the Emperor was unarmed, and commence war, attacking the bishoprics first (as in the year 1528), and that he had obtained secret help from France and Switzerland.'[2]

Intense excitement and alarm prevailed among the Protestants at Augsburg, and an attack upon 'the papists' by the peasantry' was generally feared. Dietenberger apprehended danger to life for himself and the other authors of the 'Confutation.' 'For protection against an insurrection the Emperor caused the gate-watches to be strengthened, and sent cavalry troops to patrol outside the town.' The Elector of Saxony was thrown into consternation by false intelligence from the Zwinglian preacher Johann Schneid von Schongau, who warned the Elector's son that the Emperor intended to take him and his father prisoners, and advised them both to make their escape, whereupon the Elector armed himself

[1] See Brieger, in the *Zeitschrift für Kirchengesch.* xii. 158.

[2] See Melanchthon's letter to Luther, August 22, 1530 (*Corp. Reform.* ii. 299).

and all his household, had the doors barricaded, and kept watch all through the night, determined to make a desperate fight for freedom and life. Martin Bucer, who had remained hidden in Augsburg for some time, held forth about a Diocletian-like persecution, and the council of Ulm asked 'whether God would go on countenancing such unchristian proceedings for ever, and if He would not show them some means whereby pious Christians might be rescued from the jaws of the devil.'[1] Threatening language from the mob was heard by the Emperor's escort: 'The Landgrave would make quick work of the business, and instead of all this palaver would speak with consuming fire; the Emperor wished to suppress the word of God and the Gospel, and to crucify Christ afresh; they would tolerate no Italian tyranny.'

The Lutheran theologian Brenz, on the other hand, wrote from Augsburg: 'The Emperor is certainly the best of men and the most benevolent of princes; this is the testimony of all good people.'[2] Melanchthon wrote of the Emperor to a friend as follows: 'You are, no doubt, full of admiration for his steady good fortune; but what is far more deserving of praise and respect is that with all his great successes, and while everything seems to fall out according to his wishes, he invariably shows such moderation of temper that no single word or action of his can be censured as unbecoming. What king or emperor can you point to in history whom favourable fortune has not altered for the worse? The Emperor Charles is the only example of a sovereign

[1] Keim, pp. 188, 190.

[2] *Corpus Reform.* ii. 361. 'Mirum est quam omnes ardeant amore et favore Caesaris,' wrote Luther to Hausmann on July 6, 1530. See De Wette-Seidemann, vi. 116.

whose moral equilibrium success has had no power to disturb. No greed or avarice can be detected in him, no sign of haughtiness or arrogant self-will. To take this question of religion only—in which his opponents have done their best to incense him—in what a friendly manner has he not listened to us all along! His private history is full of the most laudable examples of continence, self-mastery, and temperance. The virtue of domestic chastity, which was formerly so rigorously practised among German princes, is now found only in the household of the Emperor.'[1]

On the day after Philip's secret departure the Emperor complained to the Protestant notables of his 'improper and inopportune' behaviour. He could see no other meaning in it than that 'the Landgrave was anxious to hurry on the closing of the Diet. He made known, therefore, to the electors, princes, and towns that it was his gracious will and desire that they should not be influenced by the Landgrave's flight, but should continue none the less to yield him their true and loyal help, in order that the proceedings of the Diet might be closed by a satisfactory Recess.' The Saxon chancellor, Brück, answered in the name of the Protestant notables that 'the electors, princes, and towns had learnt with regret of the Landgrave's departure; that it had not pleased them at all, and that if they had known of his intention they would loyally have dissuaded him from carrying it out.'[2]

The Emperor then begged them 'graciously and amicably to deliberate together concerning measures by which peace might be arrived at.'

[1] October 1530 (*Corp. Reform.* ii. 430–431).

[2] Report of the Nuremberg delegates in the *Corp. Reform.* ii. 264.

'The Protestants had found an advocate for their cause with the Emperor in Queen Maria,' Charles's sister, who was secretly addicted to the new doctrines and who, being present in Augsburg, kept up communications with the Protestant theologians through her court preacher, Henkel von Commerstadt.[1] It was asserted later on by the Catholics that, 'with the exception of a few bishops wholly ignorant of theological matters, and a few imperial councillors who wanted to settle Church affairs in the same way as secular ones, it was Queen Maria who had been mainly instrumental in persuading the Emperor to offer himself as arbitrator in the religious question, and to endeavour to effect an accommodation by means of a religious convention.'

Additional sub-committees were now elected by the Diet, and on August 16 the negotiations for a settlement began.

In the theological sub-committee Eck, Wimpina, and Cochläus represented the Catholic interests; Melanchthon, Brenz, and Schnepf, those of the Protestants. The different articles of the Augsburg Confession were dealt with seriatim; in many of them no divergences from orthodox doctrine were discovered; with regard to many others a certain amount of harmony was achieved, but in the case of others it was impossible to come to any understanding.

Real unification was altogether out of the question.

For the point at issue in this tremendous ecclesiastical contest was not this or that religious dogma, this or that addition or alteration in Church discipline; it was not even a question merely of episcopal juris-

[1] Kawerau's *Agricola*, pp. 99–100.

diction and the sense in which this was understood and allowed by Protestant theologians; what was fundamentally at stake was no less than acceptance or rejection of the doctrine of the infallibility of the Church, and the recognition or non-recognition of the Church as a divine and human institution of grace resting upon the perpetual sacrifice and priesthood.

The Protestants rejected the dogma of the infallibility of the Church and set up for themselves a novel ecclesiastical system; they also rejected the perpetual sacrifice in that they denied the doctrine of the perpetual priesthood, and refused to recognise that mysterious operation of Christ in the Church which is the basis of the true priesthood.

Hence the attempts at reconciliation made at Augsburg, as indeed all later attempts, were bound to come to nothing.[1]

Luther, being under sentence of outlawry, did not dare come to Augsburg, but from his retreat at Coburg he exercised an important influence on the Protestant notables and theologians, and in both the leading points at issue he went to the root of the matter when he wrote to his friends that no unification was possible so long as the Pope refused to give up the pontificate; and that if they yielded with regard to the Canon and the private Mass they must abjure the whole

[1] Concerning the fruitlessness of the religious conference with the Protestants Eck wrote as follows: 'Quodsi sancti patres eis afferantur testes, clamant eos quoque homines fuisse; si citentur canones, obganniunt statim frigida hæc esse decreta; si eligendi forte sunt judices, recusant subito dicentes, verbum Dei non ferre judicem; quod si allegentur concilia, clamitant ea sæpius errasse: atqui e sacris litteris etiam si afferatur aliquid, et has suo ingenio tractant, suamque tantum expositionem ratam haberi volunt, contradicente etiam universa Ecclesia jam inde a temporibus apostolorum' (Raynald, ad a. 1530, No. 174).

of their own doctrine and adopt the Catholic teaching. 'I am actually bursting with anger and indignation,' Luther went on to say, 'and I beseech you to cut the matter short, to terminate negotiations, and to come back home.'[1]

An important part in these transactions was played by the question of episcopal jurisdiction.

In the princes' Confession it was said with regard to the authority of the bishops that spiritual and secular government must be kept apart; that bishops should not be allowed to undertake any extraneous office; and that the unsuitable union of spiritual power with the temporal sword had led to serious warfare and insurrection. 'The episcopal authority, according to the Gospel, is an authority or a command from God to preach the Gospel, to remit or to retain sins, to administer the sacraments, to pronounce judgment on doctrine, and to reject all doctrine that is opposed to the Gospel, and to eject from the Christian community, without the use of human force and by the power of the Divine word only, all godless persons whose godless conduct and character are manifest. And in this respect it is the duty of pastors and Churches to be obedient to the bishops, according to the words of Christ: 'Whosoever heareth you heareth me! But when the bishops teach doctrines or establish customs in opposition to the commandment of God, in such a case they are not to be obeyed.'

Who was to be judge, however, as to whether the teaching or ordinances of the bishops were contrary to the Gospel, or how this pure Gospel was to be known and distinguished from other teaching, was not stated.

[1] To Justus Jonas, September 20, 1530 (De Wette, iv. 170).

Concerning the Pope, his position, and his rights in the Church, there was not a single word in the Confession.

The theological spokesman of the Protestant party had had an eye to outwitting the bishops.

Melanchthon was in favour of restoring Church management to the bishops, of allowing them a certain amount of control for the maintenance of order in the Church, and for the superintendence of Church officials. He had his own good reasons for advising this course. 'I see beforehand,' he wrote to his friend Camerarius, 'what sort of a Church we shall have after the dissolution of the ecclesiastical constitution. I see beforehand how far more unbearable a despotism will creep in afterwards than we have ever yet experienced. Even were it permissible to overthrow the constitution of the Church it would scarcely be a salutary proceeding. This also is what has always been thought by Luther, whom many people, as I perceive, only hold in such high estimation because they feel that through him they will be freed from the dominion of the bishops and attain to an extent of liberty which will scarcely be salutary to posterity. What a condition of things will obtain in our parishes in time to come, when the ancient rites and usages are done away with, and there are no recognised overseers of the Church!'[1] 'It behoves us not to give ear to the clamours of the multitude; we must think of peace and of the future. If concord can be restored in Germany it will be a blessed thing for all of us. But what sort of an inheritance should we bequeath to posterity if the authority of the bishops were overthrown? The laity do not concern themselves about ecclesiastical

[1] August 31, 1530 (*Corp. Reform.* ii. 334, 341, 360).

jurisdiction and suchlike affairs of religion. Moreover inordinate dissensions in religion are very prejudicial to public peace. We therefore hold it to be essential in some way or other to make a compromise with the bishops, in order not to be perpetually burdened with the odium of a schism in the Church.'[1]

In former days Melanchthon had urged the princes to interfere in the internal affairs of the Church, and to pronounce decision on the doctrines of the preachers.[2] But experience had taught him how the Church had suffered from such a course, and so now he said, 'What have the princes got to do with these matters, in which they take no interest, and concerning which they think one way as good as another?'[3] 'We are doing very wrong,' he said, 'in bringing our theology into the courts of princes.'[4] Melanchthon's friend Brenz wrote to another friend, who had reproached him for making concessions in favour of episcopal authority: 'You are not aware how heavily all honest-minded preachers in the evangelical principalities are oppressed by the officials of Court and State. No upright man can deem it proper that the Court should assume the right of directing the government of the Church.'[5] It was with a view of making

[1] To Matthäus Alber, August 23 (*Corp. Reform.* ii. 302; Schmidt's *Melanchthon*, p. 233).

[2] See our statements, vol. ii. p. 622 (*Engl. Transl.*) In September 1526 he wrote to Philip of Hesse: 'Eas dissensiones, quantum fieri potest, studeat Vestra Celsitudo per praefectos cohiberi ita, ut, qui sanior videatur, solus doceat, alter taceat prorsus juxta Pauli regulam' (*Corp. Reform.* i. 821).

[3] *Corp. Reform.* ii. 268–270.

[4] 'Valde peccamus, quod in aulam portamus θεολογίαν; quare nihil in vita unquam ardentius optavi, quam ut me quam primum ex his aulicis deliberationibus prorsus vel cum magno meo incommodo expediam' (August 7, 1530, *Corp. Reform.* ii. 259).

[5] September 11, 1530, to Isenmann (*ibid.* ii. 362).

the preachers more independent of the civil power, and of rescuing Church property from the hands of the princes and magistrates, that the leading Protestant theologians pressed for the restoration of episcopal control. But it was to be a condition of this restoration of authority and of a limited share in the government of the Church that the bishops must accept the 'Gospel teaching,' and permit it to be everywhere freely preached. 'You say,' wrote Brenz to Isenmann, 'that the bishops are false prophets and murderers. I answer: If they accept our stipulations and measures,' viz. the tenets of Luther, 'they will cease to be false prophets and murderers.'

Naturally those bishops who did not wish to separate themselves from the Church could not consent to these stipulations.

'It is not to be feared,' says Brenz, 'that our opponents will agree to our proposals.' And he openly tells his friend the reason. 'If you consider the matter carefully you will see that our proposals are such as to make us appear to have yielded to a certain extent; whereas, in substance, we have made no concessions whatsoever: and this they plainly understand.'[1]

Melanchthon also clearly realised the situation. 'All our concessions are so much hampered with exceptions,' he says in a letter to Camerarius, 'that I apprehend the bishops will suspect we were offering them chaff instead of grain. But what else could we do?'[2]

[1] '. . . ita proposuimus, ut videamur aliquid concessisse, cum re ipsa nihil plane concessimus; idque ipsi probe intelligunt' (September 11, 1530, *Corp. Reform.* ii. 362.

[2] *Corp. Reform.* ii. 334. In a later communication to the preachers of Nuremberg Melanchthon writes: 'It was impossible to deal with the

To Lazarus Spengler, who had raised a warning voice against the 'frauds' of the enemy in Augsburg, Luther wrote: 'In the restriction of the Gospel there lie many other frauds, which our adversaries can employ against us: but of what avail is human wisdom against God? Be easy in mind: we will yield nothing to the detriment of the Gospel'—in other words, of Luther's doctrine. 'Should our party, however, yield anything against the Gospel, may the devil trample on that part of it: you will see.'[1] 'Once we have evaded coercion and obtained peace,' he admonishes Melanchthon, 'it will be an easy matter to amend our wiles and slips.'[2]

But the shadowy concessions which the Protestant theologians at Augsburg were willing to make to the bishops were, in the eyes of the princes and the cities, 'quite intolerable and to be peremptorily repudiated.' For since they had acquired supreme power over the ecclesiastical affairs of their dominions they were reluctant to submit to the slightest diminution of their right to dispose at pleasure of the property of the Church.

The imperial cities were particularly firm in their

subjects of episcopal authority, jurisdiction, and ordination without some previous agreement as to doctrine and essentials. If the bishops adhere tenaciously to their errors and impious ceremonies, we shall be compelled to fall back upon the Pauline injunction: If any one teach another Gospel, let him be *anathema*.' *Ibid.* iii. 964.

[1] August 28, 1530, De Wette, iv. 159. Compare his letter to Spalatin (iv. 155), where he says in conclusion: 'As to the article in which petition is made that we may seek permission from the Pope and his legate to do what they may see fit to grant us, I pray thee, go into a corner and whisper in Amsdorfian phrase: dass uns der Papst und Legate im A . . . sollten lecken.'

[2] '. . . si vim evaserimus, pace obtenta, dolos [regarding the addition, *mendacia*, see Riffel, ii. 422, note] ac lapsus nostros facile emendabimus.' De Wette, iv. 156.

opposition. 'You can have no idea,' wrote Melanchthon to Luther, 'how much odium I have incurred from the Nurembergers, and from I know not how many others, on account of the jurisdiction conceded to the bishops. It is not for the Gospel that our colleagues are contending, but for power and dominion. These people, having grown accustomed to liberty, and having shaken off the yoke of the bishops, are unwilling to have the old yoke put on them again. The imperial cities are especially bitter in their opposition to episcopal rule. They do not care a fig for religion; their only concern is to be freed from the control of the bishops.' [1]

Melanchthon's concessions and attempts at reconciliation wellnigh caused him to be looked upon as a traitor to the 'Gospel.' 'God has ordered events for us with especial favour,' declared one of the Nuremberg delegates, Jerome Baumgartner, on September 13 and 15, to Lazarus Spengler, the secretary of the Council, 'inasmuch as the Confession has once for all been handed in; for otherwise our theologians might have subscribed to some other formula. Had we followed their advice, we should have done so, though they could never agree.' Melanchthon, he says, was 'more childish than an infant;' Brenz was 'not only stupid, but coarse and unmannerly.' As for George, Margrave of Brandenburg, they had 'misled and cowed' him. The Elector had 'no capable agent in this business, excepting only Doctor Brück,' who, however, was obliged to act with caution, since he had no one to support him. 'The other Saxon theologians are afraid to speak their minds openly against Philip' (Melanchthon), 'who has grown so haughty of late that he said

[1] *Corp. Reform.* ii. 328, 336.

to the Chancellor of Lüneburg: "Whoever dares to say that the measures lately adopted are unchristian lies like a villain." Whereupon he was answered: "Who says the contrary?"' 'Furthermore, if any one has the courage to behave in a Christian and manly way, there is no end of reviling him. Unless we pretend to relish the dishes set before us already cooked, we are made to feel their anger, and the theologians run about to see to it that we get no repose.'

'To the present moment nobody at the Diet has done more injury to the Gospel than Philip. Besides, he has become so presumptuous that he not only refuses to listen to words of advice or expostulation from anybody, but breaks out into unmannerly cursing and scolding, so as to frighten people and cow them into silence by the weight of his reputation and authority.'[1]

Luther, when these complaints against Melanchthon reached his ears, wrote to console his friend: 'Do not fret at the condemnation of those who say or write that you have yielded too much to the Pope. There must be amongst us weaklings whose manners and faults you must bear with. They neither comprehend the nature of the authority conceded to the bishops, nor take into account the attendant circumstances. Would to God the bishops had agreed to our conditions! But in matters that concern them they have a keen scent.'[2]

But even if this were the case, and if the bishops refused to be caught in a trap, yet this did not justify Luther in stirring up the populace against them from the

[1] *Corp. Reform.* ii. 363, 372.
[2] September 11, 1530, in De Wette, iv. 163.

pulpit. 'How many devils, think you, were present at the Diet of Augsburg last year? Each bishop brought as many devils there with him as there are flies on a dog on St. John's Day.'[1] Later on he said that God had made the bishops in Augsburg mad, and had deprived them of reason and understanding, because He had resolved to destroy them.'[2]

Among the princes Philip of Hesse was most pronounced in his antagonism to Melanchthon. 'What shall I say?' he wrote to Zwingli in September. 'Melanchthon walks backward like a crab, and is so purblind that he does great mischief to the Gospel of Christ. He is on the wrong path and will continue thereon, and many cling to him.' Melanchthon, it was said, had audaciously proclaimed that 'Luther and Zwingli were now on his side.'[3]

But it is certain that during his sojourn at Augsburg Melanchthon never claimed to be on good terms with Zwingli. On the contrary he employed the severest language in denouncing the Swiss Reformer, and uttered the most emphatic warnings against the intrigues of the Zwinglians. 'Zwingli has sent a printed "Confession" here,' he wrote to Luther on July 14. 'One would think he was completely out of his mind.[4] With regard to original sin and the use of the sacraments, he rehashes all the old heresies. He treats of the ceremonies in true Swiss, *i.e.* barbarous style; he would abolish them all. He vehemently defends his views of the Lord's Supper. Bishops he will in no wise tolerate.'[5]

[1] *Collected Works*, xvii. 210.
[2] *Ibid.* lvii. 199, 200.
[3] *Zwinglii Opp.* viii. 505.
[4] '. . . dicas simpliciter mente captum esse.'
[5] *Corp. Reform.* ii. 193.

'Our cause would not be so generally detested,' complained Melanchthon in other letters to his friends, 'were it not for the baneful influence of the Zwinglians, who not only preach insufferable doctrines, but are hatching seditious plots against the Emperor. They boast that they will make an irruption into the empire. Their intrigues can only lead to a fearful destruction of the churches and of all forms of government.'[1] It was Bucer's adherents at Augsburg, he said, 'who alone had hindered a peaceful settlement after reasonable terms had been proposed by the opposite party.[2] On the other hand, Bucer and Jacob Sturm of Strasburg complained, in their letters to Zwingli, of the fury and implacable hatred of the Lutherans against them.[3]

Taking this 'dissension' of the new theological leaders for a text, the Elector Joachim of Brandenburg, as a member of the enlarged committee, and in its name, directed the following question to the Protestant notables: Was it not reasonable to entertain a conscientious scruple about abandoning the Christian religion, in contravention of every ordinance of the Church and of the laws of the land, and placing reliance on preachers who were a Scripture and a law unto themselves, who contradicted each other, and were notoriously split up into a multitude of warring factions? He implored the Estates to consider whether

[1] *Corp. Reform.* ii. 95, 103, and iv. 1008. [2] *Ibid.* ii. 389.

[3] *Zwinglii Opp.* viii. 459, 473. 'Nihil potest fingi Lutheranorum in nos odio implacabilius, nihil aeque atrox et dirum.' On July 17, 1530, Bucer wrote from Augsburg concerning Melanchthon: 'I hear that Philip has written to-night to some one or other: "Peace cannot be restored to Germany until the Zwinglians are exterminated" (Brieger, *Zeitschrift für Kirchengesch.* iv. 623, note 3).

these preachers were more worthy of credence than the universal Christian Church, than all the remaining princes of the world, and especially than their own kinsmen and fellow notables, together with the Emperor. It might be advisable, moreover, for the Protestants to weigh well the likelihood of any other fruit growing out of the tenets and methods of these men than fatal disturbance and sedition in the Empire, with an untold amount of misery to land and people.[1]

That many evils had certainly sprung into existence since the beginning of the religious troubles was frankly admitted by the Saxon theologians. 'We see on all sides,' they say in a memorandum addressed to the 'Elector of Saxony and the other Evangelical Estates,' 'how serious have been the consequences of this schism in the Faith; how demoralised the populace has become; what interminable errors, sects, and factions are springing up day by day.' They apprehend that matters would grow worse should a war break out. As a further result of the dissensions 'all discipline had vanished from the schools and the churches.' 'Parents are unwilling to send their children to school, and justly so; for no one is willing to expose his child to the dangers which threaten scholars so long as this disunion continues. Neither can any decorum be maintained in the churches. What is not tolerated in one place is approved of in another, so that it is utterly impossible to enforce obedience.' They point to the danger of the people becoming 'quite wild and heathenish,' and rather than this should happen they deem it 'preferable to return to Judaism, with all its bondage.'[2]

[1] Müller, p. 722; Walch, xvi. 1632, 1638. [2] *Corp. Reform.* ii. 281.

The spiritual princes endeavoured to persuade the Protestant Estates that the universally acknowledged deterioration of morals in the populace was a necessary consequence of the subversion of the ancient constitution of the Church and of the methods with which the new teachings had been introduced, which must lead to contempt of religion and an ever increasing demoralisation and insubordination of the people. 'In violation of the Holy Scripture and of Christian ordinances,' say the spiritual princes amongst other grievances submitted by them to the Diet, 'secular rulers and potentates presume arbitrarily to appoint renegade monks and other such disreputable persons to the offices of preacher and pastor, without the knowledge or sanction of the bishops, and this in spite of sworn compacts. These preachers trample on all the doctrines and laws of the Church, and fill the minds of the populace with a like contempt for order, the general aim of all their sermons being to incense the laity against the clerical estate.' 'They publish libellous pamphlets against the Pope, the Emperor, and the King, and revile all who refuse to become their partisans. Thence have issued the baneful discord, tumult, and bloodshed which our eyes behold in this German nation. Many of the adherents of the new doctrines have demolished a vast number of churches and edifices of divine worship, and have employed altars, gravestones, and other sacred monuments in the fortification of their castles and town walls; they have suppressed pious foundations, anniversaries, and other religious provisions, and confiscated the revenues; monstrances, chalices, sacred vestments, reliquaries, and other articles of worship they have sold by public auction; they have mutilated and burnt

images and crucifixes; the Most Blessed Sacrament they have treated with indignity. In some cities where churches and cloisters are still standing the ancient worship is forbidden, and all who attend such services are severely punished. With the connivance of the magistrates the populace may freely hoot at religious processions and pelt the priests with mud and stones. It is no longer safe for a pastor to appear on the public highways carrying to the dying the venerable Sacrament of the Body of Christ.'

The complainants go on to say that the secular authorities are taking forcible possession of the monasteries and nunneries 'by giving to the superiors the alternative of surrendering them or of being expelled;' that they appropriate all the goods and chattels of the same to their own use, and also seize on the donations of pious benefactors. 'As to the nunneries which they are unable to gain open possession of, they drive away the chaplains and confessors, sending unfrocked monks to take their place and compel the poor nuns to listen to their vile rantings. In consequence many cloisters and churches stand desolate and tenantless. But the presumption of the secular rulers does not end here. They are setting up a new and arbitrary system of Church ceremonies and divine services, and are compelling the clergy in their districts, under pain of forfeiting their benefices and other species of punishment, to conform to these new regulations. In some places they actually prevent the dying from confessing their sins and receiving the Sacrament of the Eucharist, and do not allow the dead to be interred in consecrated ground. They deprive the bishops and other ecclesiastical superiors of all spiritual jurisdiction, prohibit

the canonical visitation of parishes and religious houses, forbid the clergy to obey the commands of their bishops, and bring purely spiritual matters, especially matrimonial causes, before their secular tribunal. They compel the pastors to administer the Sacraments to people who are under sentence of excommunication; they subject all the hospitals and other such ecclesiastical institutions to their secular control and administration; they make themselves masters of all the property of the Church, and whilst imposing taxes at will themselves they will not allow their citizens who have lands belonging to the spiritualty to pay taxes or render other services for these lands, or to fulfil any of the duties of citizenship. Commands issued to the contrary by several princes and other overlords have been simply ignored by the inferior authorities.

The outcome of all these violent proceedings, they claimed, was not only that the clergy were trodden down and ruined, but that the secular authority itself was undermined and brought into contempt.[1]

The bishops also sent in a protest and vindication against the complaints formerly lodged against the spiritual order at the Diets of Worms and Nuremberg, and now renewed at Augsburg. Of these the most important they were successful in repelling. As to the rest, they proposed measures of redress.

But as to any real solicitude with regard to Church discipline, or zealous activity in promoting 'true Christian conduct among the clergy and the necessary training of candidates for the priesthood,' the remarks made by Bishop Gabriel of Eichstätt to Kilian Leib, Prior of Rebdorf, continued to hold good: 'I fear that

[1] *Frankfurter Reichstagsacten*, xliv. 106-130.

Lutheranism is a plague sent upon us by God, because we bishops are taking no precautions. I have repeatedly spoken on the subject to one or other bishop at Augsburg, but it has been useless; they take nothing to heart.' Duke George of Saxony, the one secular prince who held most loyally and disinterestedly to the faith of the Church, expressed his conviction that 'a heavy judgment would fall upon the watchmen of the sanctuary, who seemed to be fast asleep while the wolf was devouring the flock.' 'Is it not high time,' he said, 'to dread the just vengeance of God, and to set to work with diligence to sweep away the manifold abuses and grievous scandals in the lives of the clergy; to put down foolish superstitions; to provide for the increasing need of Christian schools and of good preachers for the people; and, above all, to abolish concubinage among the clergy?' [1]

In order to remedy the evil of clerical concubinage the Protestants advocated an unrestricted permission for the priests to contract matrimony, and, since they held continency to be a rare gift, they agitated for the substitution in future of married instead of unmarried pastors.

In the committee of theologians this question came on repeatedly for discussion.

The Catholic members did not deny that concubinage was of frequent occurrence. 'But,' argued Cochläus and others, 'it does not follow from this that priests who have maintained concubines should be allowed to take to themselves legal wives. They ought rather to be visited with the full severity of the sacred canons, lest it be made to appear that their sin has

[1] Senckenberg, *Acta et Pacta*, p. 569.

been profitable to them. It certainly would not be mercy, it would be a dereliction of duty, to bestow a sort of reward on a priest who had led an immoral life and had publicly entered the married state in violation of his vow of chastity and of the law of the Church. Rather let his bishop inflict the proper punishment.' 'The Protestants gain nothing by quoting the saying of Christ, "All men take not this word;" for not all men are priests. Just as all men are not destined to celibacy, so also not all men are fitted for the priesthood. As to the contention that the law and ordinance of God cannot be made void by any human decree, or by any vow, this, so far as it goes, is beyond dispute. But to be of any intrinsic value it would be necessary to prove that the priests had actually received a divine command to take wives, which verily no man hath yet undertaken to prove. The argument that priests in the primitive Church were, in many instances, married men, as is evidenced by the words of St. Paul, "Let the bishop be a man of one wife," affords scant consolation to the preachers; for, although it occasionally happened that married men were admitted to the priesthood, yet never did bishop or priest take a wife *after* his ordination to the priesthood. The "forbidding to marry" would be undoubtedly unscriptural; but it was not at variance with Holy Writ that a man should freely enter upon the priestly state, renouncing the right to marry and taking a vow of chastity. Finally let it be taken into consideration how repulsive the idea of a married clergy was to the vast majority of the Christian people.'

'Every effort was made at Augsburg,' writes Faber, 'to make the Protestants realise that the scandals

caused to the people by the dissolute lives of so many of the secular clergy and monks could not be removed by the legalising of sacerdotal marriages; for the people have as little respect for the married priests as for the priests living in concubinage. If the Protestants themselves were obliged to complain of the deep contempt in which they were held by the populace in their own territories, let them ask themselves whether, in most cases, this contempt did not spring from the marriage of their preachers.' 'Why, Luther himself had been forced to confess that "no one was willing to say a good word for the servants of the Church: those who had entered the married state were despised and rejected; the clergy had become a curse, a byword, and a laughing-stock to the whole community.' [1]

'The Protestants were invited to join with us, in order that, with united forces, we might set our hands to the work, which could be better and more easily accomplished if the schism were done away with. Then we might set about the task of punishing the delinquencies of the clergy, restoring the discipline of the Church, and taxing measures for the education and training of a competent priesthood. If, however, these unworthy dissensions are kept up and suffered to spread more and more extensively among the clergy and the people, and if the princes rise one against the other, and a civil war should break out, it would be impossible to carry out the necessary reforms, and ecclesiastical and civil order would be swallowed up in a common vortex. As a compromise it was proposed to the Protestants that the Pope should be petitioned to

[1] Read Luther's incessant complaints on this subject in Döllinger's *Reformation*, i. 298 *sq.*

tolerate the married clergy until the final decision of a general Council, but that, pending this decision, no clergyman should hereafter take a wife. The Protestants, however, would not budge an inch from their demand for "an unrestricted license to marry" for the clergy, "although, as their own jurists contended, there was no existing law which sanctioned clerical marriages."[1]

This was in fact the case. Even the jurists who were attached to the Lutheran sect went on expounding in their public lectures—and this in Wittenberg itself—that the marriages of priests were invalid, and that the children of such marriages were illegitimate and incapable of inheriting. Luther makes the bitterest complaints against them on this score. 'To the present day,' he says, 'I have not come across a single jurist who will take sides with me against the Pope in this matter. They stubbornly refuse to hand down to my children—or to the children of any period—my good name and my poor property.'[2] The pontifical legislation 'had taken such deep root in the heart of the nation' that it was no easy task to uproot it, 'as we see and experience.[3] Egged on by his wife, Catharine von Bora,[4] who was, naturally enough, desirous of seeing her children recognised as legitimate, Luther carried his animosity to the jurists to such extremes that, with the solitary exception of the Saxon

[1] Fabri Farragines, pp. 43, 45.

[2] October 5, 1536, to Count Albert of Mansfeld, in De Wette, v. 26; cp. v. 716.

[3] *Collected Works*, lxii. 240, 244-245.

[4] Cruciger writes *à propos* to Veit Dietrich: 'Luther is at present all on fire against the jurists. As you are aware, he has, in addition to other inflammable materials, a *domestic torch*' (Hundeshagen, *Beiträge*, i. 435).

chancellor Brück, he denounced them all as 'godless reprobates,' and insisted that 'such pettifogging blockheads ought to have their tongues torn out by the roots.'[1]

The subject of the lay chalice was also discussed frequently at Augsburg.

The Catholic party admitted that, with the sanction of the Pope, and under the conditions laid down by the Council of Basle for the Bohemians, the chalice might be conceded to the laity; but the Protestants, on the other hand, must publicly proclaim that the Church had not erred in administering the Sacrament under one kind; that it was no sin and at variance with no ordinance of Christ to receive one element only. 'Up to the present hour,' wrote Brenz on August 21, 'we have made a resolute stand against this. I see no prospect of an accommodation, for what concord hath Christ with Belial?'[2]

It was the pronounced opinion of John Frederick of Saxony that the proposition made by the Emperor and the Catholic Estates at Augsburg, 'that neither party should condemn the other,' could not be accepted or acceded to 'without injury to the Gospel.' 'For this reason,' he says, 'the whole Augsburg "Concordia" fell to the ground. For, had we tolerated their Communion in one kind, the partaking under

[1] *Collected Works*, lxii. 238, 254.

[2] *Corp. Reform.* ii. 317. 'There would be no difficulty in adjusting the matter,' wrote J. Crotus to Duke Albert of Prussia, 'if the Lutherans were disposed to respect the judgment of the Church and abstained from heaping mud and dirt on the honourable, saintly, and learned men of yore, as if they had been a pack of ignorant idiots. One must have some regard for the opinion of the Church; for otherwise there will be a luxuriant growth of noxious weeds.' See his letter, dated August 30, 1530, in Voigt, *Briefwechsel*, pp. 162–164.

both kinds would have been left a matter of individual choice, which God and our conscience forbade us to do.' [1]

Intolerance of Catholics, therefore, was in the estimation of the princes of the new religion a conscientious duty.

Not in matters of faith only, but also with regard to the confiscation of the temporalities of the Church, they were perpetually appealing to the Gospel and to conscience. When the Emperor demanded the restitution of the despoiled possessions of the Church their answer was: 'They did not consider themselves bound to obey, since this matter concerned their conscience, against which there ran no prescription.' Neither were they at all impressed by the declaration of the Emperor that 'the Word of God, the Gospel, and every law, civil and canonical, forbade a man to appropriate to himself the property of another.' [2]

The Catholics, for instance, could not reconcile with the teachings of the Gospel the proceedings of Margrave George of Brandenburg-Culmbach a few months before the Diet. This prince, who so bravely appealed from the Emperor to the Gospel, had

[1] *Corp. Reform.* ii. 911.

[2] Schirmacher, *Briefe und Acten*, pp. 431–435. Cp. Förstemann, ii. 620–623. 'It has become a commonplace with the Protestants,' remarks Conrad Braun, assessor to the Kammergericht, 'whenever anything does not suit them, to protest that "no legal right or concession can bind them to anything which might violate God or their conscience." This way of acting breaks down all mutual faith and confidence. For the consequence is that each man does just what his heart lusteth and what is pleasing in his eyes, using Holy Writ as a cloak, under cover of which he can shield himself with the pretence of God's Word and conscience. It is horrible to employ the sacred text for the concealment and defence of sin, and to make good appear to be evil' (Hortleder, p. 149).

despoiled all the churches and cloisters within his territory of all their vessels of silver and gold, monstrances and chalices, images, precious vestments, pearls, and jewels, and had employed the sum of 50,000 florins, the proceeds of the sale of the same, to defray the gambling debts and other sundry liabilities of his deceased brother Casimir. George's son, Frederick, drew meanwhile a revenue of about 190,000 florins from ecclesiastical benefices.[1]

All attempts at a reconciliation were fruitless.

Nevertheless peace might have been preserved if the Protestant Estates had agreed to the Emperor's stipulation in favour of the Catholics residing within their territories.

The Emperor urged with emphasis that he was the authoritative guardian of all the Catholics. It was his right and his duty to intervene on behalf of these his subjects, who were unwilling either to accept the new Gospel or, on account thereof, to go into exile, but wished to remain in their homes and persevere in the divine worship of their fathers and of their own earlier days. The least he could demand for them was the toleration of this worship—in other words, of the Catholic Mass.

[1] Lang, i. 168 and ii. 24, 27, 71. From the two cloisters at Hof alone we are told by the Lutheran chronicler that 'he carried off two wagon-loads of gold and silver articles' (Mencken, iii. 749). From his Silesian dominions the Margrave brought to Plassenburg many chests full of plundered vestments and other precious treasures. With regard to the spoliation of the Saxon monasteries, Luther wrote to Spalatin as early as January 1, 1527: 'Seria sunt valde de rapina monasteriorum, et crede, macerat res ista me vehementer' (De Wette, iii. 147). 'Many who wish to be thought quite evangelical,' complained Melanchthon in 1528, 'pounce upon the property consecrated to the support of the pastors, preachers, schools, churches, so that eventually we shall become heathens' (*Unterricht Melanchthon's wider die Leere der Wiederteuffer, verteutschet durch Justus Jonas*, Wittenberg, 1528).

The Elector of Saxony applied to his theologians for an opinion on the matter. They answered that the imperial demand could not be acquiesced in; the princes were not at liberty to tolerate the Mass.[1]

The theologians thus gave it distinctly to be understood that the new doctrine could not endure without the aid of the secular authority.

From year to year the aversion of the people towards the new doctrine and its apostles had gone on increasing, even at Wittenberg, the hearth and centre of the innovation.

A few months before the assembling of the Diet at Augsburg Luther's father had been taken seriously ill. Luther was sorely distressed at this illness, and wrote to console his father; but he did not venture to pay him a visit, for he feared the people might kill him during the journey. 'I would only too gladly have come to you in person,' he wrote to his father, 'but my good friends have dissuaded me from doing so, and I myself am constrained to think I ought not to tempt God by rushing into danger; for you know well what sort of friendship lords and peasants entertain for me.' Explaining himself more fully, he adds: 'I might indeed succeed in reaching you, but the return home would be dangerous.'[2]

The attachment of the people to Luther's doctrine was no greater than to his person. 'They say nowadays,' wrote Luther in the year before the Augsburg Diet, '"Ah, yes, the monks used to sing, and pray, and fast a great deal; and they did all this for the honour and glory of God. That sort of thing pleases the common people hugely. They cannot restrain them-

[1] Cp. Paulus in the *Katholik*, 1897, i. 461.

[2] Letter dated February 15, 1530, in De Wette, iii. 550.

selves from applauding it."' But the people went much further than this. 'They accuse us of being rebels,' exclaimed Luther, 'of having destroyed the unity of the Church, and of being the authors of all the evils of the day.' 'Formerly, under the papacy,' so went the popular cry, 'things were not so bad. But now, since these teachers have come, there is nothing but disaster —famine, war, and the Turk.' 'Many are saying, Peace is at an end; the world is topsy-turvy; men are confused and bewildered in spirit; religion is going to the dogs; there is no reverence for God; obedience to law is a thing of the past. What good has come out of the Gospel? Everything was formerly in far better state.' Shortly after the close of the Diet of Augsburg Luther made the avowal: 'Everybody is now complaining and crying out that the Gospel has brought much discontent, wrangling, and disorderly living into the world, and that everything is in worse condition since its introduction than before, when things ran smoothly and there was no persecution, and people lived peacefully together, like good friends and neighbours.' The people would willingly drive him, 'together with the Gospel'— to wit, his peculiar tenets—'sheer out of the country, or else starve him to death.' On the other hand the people clung so tenaciously to the ways of the old Church that Luther declared: 'Were I so disposed I am confident that with two or three sermons I could easily preach my people back into popery and re-establish pilgrimages and Masses.' 'I know for certain that here in Wittenberg you shall scarcely find ten men whom I could not seduce if I returned to practise the sanctity which I practised in popery when I was a monk.'[1]

[1] *Collected Works*, vi. 280; xliii. 63, 279, 316. Compare ix. 336, vi. 106.

Only the prince to whom Luther had made over the whole government of the Church, and who disposed at will of ecclesiastical property, supported the new doctrine. 'God in His great mercy,' declared Luther, 'had vouchsafed him and the other preachers a safe harbour of refuge in the persons of the Saxon princes.' 'But the greater the favour and benevolence shown to us by the princes, all the more frightfully are we hated and despised by the nobility, the court officials, the burghers, and the peasants, who, had their power been equal to their malice, would long since have expelled us from our present dwelling and shelter.'

It was purely and simply by means of this league between the princes and the preachers and theologians that the new religion, thus thrust upon the people, was enabled to endure. 'Were it not for the princes and lords, we could not stand out much longer. Let us then pray for our Elector, that he may be able to preserve the Church.' [1]

If the Elector were to grant freedom of worship to the Catholics of his dominions, there would be great danger, the preachers feared, in view of the general feeling of the people that the old faith would gain a decisive victory over the new. It was the opinion of the Saxon theologians at Augsburg that if the Mass were tolerated 'there would not be wanting a large number of people in the contiguous principalities who would either themselves become priests or prepare others for the office, in order to re-establish at any sacrifice popery and innumerable Masses.' In Saxony itself there were still to be found priests and monks

[1] Lauterbach's *Tagebuch*, pp. 131, 148; Walch, i. 2444. Cp. my pamphlet *An meine Kritiker*, pp. 117–124 (new edition).

who 'would take advantage of the imperial decree to ask permission to say their Masses until the assembling of the future Council.' 'Moreover in the domains of our most benign and gracious lords there are many persons who are either founders of Masses or heirs of the same; and these people will not be slow to present priests for their foundations, nor will they refrain from insisting that these Masses be said.'

Even if peace could be assured by means of compromise, they claimed that this was out of the question.

'For, in a matter like this, temporal peace is a secondary consideration. God would surely visit us with severe chastisement, if we made ourselves accessory to the reintroduction of so heinous an abuse. For the Holy Ghost most earnestly reproves such rank idolatry.'

'The argument that these daily Low Masses form an attractive divine service, whereby the common people are incited to devotion, deserves no consideration whatsoever. For the divine services at Bethel and Bethaven were truly imposing; and yet they were denounced by the prophets in the most vigorous language. No doubt the prophets often heard themselves reproached as disturbers of the peace.' One ought not to allow oneself to be 'cowed by the assaults of Satan into a craven toleration of abuses and of an insufferable blasphemous travesty of divine worship.'[1]

On July 13, during the session of the Diet, Luther announced that the princes would not tolerate the monastic life or Masses, 'because they believe in the Gospel, and are certain that Mass-service and monasticism are blasphemies dead opposed to the Gospel.' Should any one retort that the Emperor, on his side,

[1] *Corp. Reform.* ii. 304–310.

was certain that the Catholic was the true doctrine, the answer was: 'We know that he is *not* certain of this, nor can he be certain of it, because we know that he is in error and that he is striving against the Gospel. We are in no way bound to believe that he is certain, because he does not conform to God's Word and we do. But it is *his* duty to recognise God's Word and to imitate us in furthering it with all his might. It would be absurd for a murderer or adulterer to say, "I am right, and you must sanction my conduct, because I am certain that I am right." No, let him approve his course by the witness of God's Word.'[1]

It was with arguments like these that the Protestant Estates were to justify their overthrow of the ancient faith and worship, and to demonstrate the wickedness of the Emperor's efforts to preserve the faith and worship of his fathers.

Not less puerile was the ratiocination with which Luther undertook to prove that the Catholic notables who refused to permit within their territories the dissemination of his tenets, always identified by him with 'the Word of God,' must be 'possessed by the devil.' For instance, in a diatribe against Duke George of Saxony he wrote: 'For myself, I know that my doctrine is God's Word and the Gospel.' When, therefore, Duke George, the mortal foe of this doctrine, raves against it, 'to my certain knowledge he raves against God's Word, and, in consequence, against God Himself and His Christ. Since he raves against God Himself I must in my heart believe that he is possessed by the devil. If he is possessed by the devil I must believe in my heart that he is plotting the blackest designs.'[2]

[1] *Collected Works*, liv. 179–180. [2] *Ibid.* xxxi. 20.

This much, at any rate, was clear as day: while sentiments like these held sway there could be no question of a reconciliation, nor was it possible for the followers of antagonistic creeds to live together in peaceful harmony so long as the Protestants persisted in denouncing the Catholic worship as idolatry and the Eucharistic sacrifice as a blasphemy.

Now, although the theological spokesmen of the innovators were at hopeless discord on other subjects, yet their writings and sermons demonstrated beyond cavil that they were united in the work of completely suppressing and exterminating the Catholic religion. No sooner did any of them feel himself strong enough for the task than he began, with the aid of the secular power, the work of demolition. While they all claimed for themselves an unlimited freedom of conscience, and, at the first show of resistance, declaimed vigorously against intolerance and tyranny, they proceeded with ruthless despotism against all who ventured to differ from them. The Catholic clergy, the Catholic princes and magistrates, and the Catholic people were, therefore, merely struggling for self-preservation when they made every effort to prevent Protestantism from gaining an entrance into their territories, or, where it had already shown itself, to expel it.[1]

John Hoffmeister, prior of the Augustinians in Colmar, put the question in the pithiest terms: 'Are not the scenes enacted in the electorate of Saxony, in Hesse, and other principalities of Germany, in so many imperial cities, and in Switzerland quite sufficient to warn the Catholics of the fate which would overtake them if ever the secular and clerical heads of the sects

[1] See Döllinger, *Kirche und Kirchen*, pp. 68–71.

obtained the power to carry into execution the designs they have been hatching in secret from the beginning? They have wrested from the Catholics the possessions of their churches, their religious houses, their institutions of worship and charity, their hospitals and schools. They have violently suppressed the Catholic service, inhibiting the exercise thereof under severe penalties. They go so far as to punish even those of their subjects who venture to be present at a Mass celebrated outside their jurisdiction, or who have their children baptised with Catholic rites, or who receive the Sacraments. Is peace to be kept with lawless folk like these? Rather is it not the duty of rulers who wish to continue with their people in the bosom of the one true Church and in the observance of the ancient laws and customs to oppose the most valiant resistance to those who are seeking to break into the Catholic sheepfold? Is it not a frequent boast of these revolutionary sectarians that the Catholics shall be swept away by fire and sword as a race of idolaters and blasphemers?'[1]

Luther was content with the expulsion of the Catholics. Melanchthon was in favour of proceeding against them with corporal penalties, for he held it was the duty of the civil power to promulgate and uphold the law of God.[2] Zwingli held that, in case of need, the massacre of bishops and priests was a work commanded by God.[3]

But the most truculent of all was the ex-friar Martin Bucer, who expounded his views in his 'Dialogues.'

[1] In his *Dicta Memorabilia* (Coloniæ, 1543), p. 29.

[2] *Corp. Reform.* ix. 77. The intolerant spirit of Melanchthon as well against Catholics as against Anabaptists is shown up by Paulus in the *Katholik*, 1897, i. 460-469, 534-550.

[3] See above, p. 180.

Since the Pope and the bishops, he argued, 'are sending innumerable souls into eternal damnation with the devil,' it was necessary that their idolatry and blasphemy, than which none greater had ever existed on this earth, should be rooted out of the whole Empire by the secular authorities.

The civil magistrates, he continued, are the chief shepherds and superintendents of the Church, and for this reason have been called gods and Christs. It is their privilege and their duty to make reforms in the Church, and they have no right to suffer false religion and popish idolatry to exist side by side with the true evangelical doctrine. If thieves, robbers, and murderers are visited with severe punishment, then surely the votaries of a false religion must be punished still more severely; for the corruption of religion is incomparably a more heinous crime than any description of carnal misdeed. The magistrates have the right to extirpate these adherents of a false religion with fire and sword; yea, more, to strangle their wives and children; for this the Lord commanded in the Old Testament.[1] The suggestion that Christ had never commanded so cruel a proceeding Bucer repels as unworthy of consideration; for in the days of Christ the civil magistrates had not accepted the Gospel; hence a mandate like this could not be given them.

But he opined that 'not all the cities which had embraced the errors of popery ought to be utterly destroyed, as the letter of the law demanded, for then

[1] 'Solche Strafe,' Bucer thinks, 'wäre friedlich, recht und barmherzig.' Paulus quietly remarks that 'this hardly chimes with Baumgarten's appreciation of Bucer's character (Jacob Sturm, Strasburg, 1876, p. 11): 'Jeglicher Fanatismus, der politische wie der kirchliche, stösst ihn zurück.'

all countries would be laid waste.' But when once the magistrate had fulfilled his duty by abolishing every sort of false worship, if afterwards it should happen that any one 'raised any objections' or 'should fall away from the true religion,' the magistrate must unsheath the sword. For he is the executer of God's justice, and by the severity of his procedure he must make the contemners of divine grace mindful of the wrath of God, which is hanging over them.[1]

Since the religious conferences at Augsburg had failed to bring about a reconciliation fresh overtures of peace were made to the Protestants on September 10 by the imperial councillor, George Truchsess von Waldburg and the Chancellor of Baden, Jerome Vehe. Respecting religious houses of men and women, they were merely asked to pledge themselves 'to leave intact those that still remained; to allow the property and revenues of those that had already been seized to be administered by imperial commissaries, until the future Council, in such guise that the poor expelled monks and nuns might, out of the proceeds, be furnished with sufficient means to provide for the bare necessities of life.' As for the Mass, they were simply to connive at its being said with its customary ceremonies. With regard to the chalice for the laity and clerical celibacy, they were to make this declaration: 'That they would deal with these subjects in a manner consistent with consciences, ever mindful of their responsibility to the Emperor and the Council, and pre-eminently to God.'

[1] *Dialogi oder Gespräch von der Gemainsame und den Kirchenübungen der Christen*, &c., 1535. Paulus has treated fully of Bucer's intolerance in two treatises: (1) *The Strasburg Reformers and Liberty of Conscience*; (2) *Martin Bucer and Liberty of Conscience*. Mayence, 1891.

'Should it become patent at the Council that any of them had exceeded due bounds, and had behaved in an unjust and unchristian manner, they would, as became dutiful princes, submit themselves to the judgment of the Emperor.'

Meanwhile they were to pledge themselves 'not to introduce any further innovations in matters of faith until the forthcoming Council had pronounced its decisions, and also to receive no foreign subjects under their protection.' If they would accede to these terms care would be taken so to word the 'Recess' as to name and ratify the points upon which an agreement had been reached, and to refer all debatable questions to the judgment of the Council, mutual toleration and protection being guaranteed until the definitive decision.[1]

But even these extremely moderate overtures were rejected, after consultation with Luther, Spalatin, and other theologians. Luther's opinion stated, among other things: 'To pledge oneself to make no alterations in matters of religion and faith is equivalent to crucifying Christ and denying and binding the Word, in obedience to the injunction: "The Word of God shall not be bound."'[2] Spalatin dilated on the ungodly rites and the abominations abounding in the popish creed. He spoke of the 'tricks and deceits' of the enemy, of the exaltation of the devil above God, of Belial above Christ; and held over the 'Catholic tyrants' the terrible fate of Sennacherib.[3] To permit the Mass and to tolerate monks in evangelical districts

[1] Müller, p. 866 *sq.*; Walch, xvi. 1823–1824; Förstemann, ii. 416–479; comp. Planck, iii. 156–163.

[2] Walch, xvi. 1825.

[3] *Ibid.* xvi. 1830.

was, in the estimation of the Nurembergers, 'unchristian and insufferable.' The councillors whom Landgrave Philip of Hesse and Duke Ernest of Lüneburg left behind them in Augsburg declared bluntly that 'they would take no part in any further transactions.'[1]

In the hope of at least winning over the Elector John of Saxony the Emperor, on September 11, commissioned the Count Palatine Frederick and two councillors to negotiate with him. We are informed by a report that 'they were very diligent and actively bestirred themselves to effect some result; but the Protestants held fast together.'[2]

On the following day the Saxon Crown Prince and Count Albert of Mansfeld took their departure from Augsburg. The Elector and the Duke of Lüneburg were also minded to quit the Diet secretly; and it was only at the earnest request of the Emperor, who had been advised of their intention, that the Elector consented to remain a few days longer, protesting, however, that, at their termination, he would depart, with or without permission from Charles.[3]

No other course was left, therefore, to the Emperor than to draw up the Recess in agreement with the views of the Catholic Estates.

On September 22 he laid before the Protestants the draft of a proclamation to the following effect: 'His Imperial Majesty having given due consideration to the Protestant Confession, which had been, on solid grounds, confuted and rejected with arguments drawn from the holy Gospels and sacred Scripture; having

[1] *Corp. Reform.* ii. 367.

[2] Schirrmacher, *Briefe und Acten*, p. 294.

[3] See Pastor's *Reunionsbestrebungen*, pp. 55–56.

furthermore, by means of negotiations, secured an agreement of opinion with regard to several articles; therefore, for the weal and benefit of the most laudable Empire of the German nation, for the maintenance of peace and unity, and as a proof of his gentleness and as a special favour, he has given a respite to the Elector of Saxony and the other Protestant Estates until April 15 of the coming year, to the end that they may weigh and consider whether, in view of the articles as to which an agreement had been reached, they cannot re-enter into harmony with the Christian Church, the Pope, his Imperial Majesty, the Princes of the Empire, and the other chiefs and members of a united Christendom, until a final decision should be rendered by the future Council. His Imperial Majesty would also bethink him, during the same interval, of the course of action prescribed by his office.'

'In the interim, until the above-mentioned date, they were to permit no new writings on matters touching the faith to be printed or sold within their dominions; they were not to entice or coerce any of their own subjects, or any foreign subjects, to join them or their sect; nor were they to molest or persecute those of their subjects who adhered to the ancient faith, or interfere with their churches and religious edifices, or with their sites and divine service; nor to institute any further changes in matters of religion; and they were to join with the Emperor and the other Estates in the suppression of those who rejected the most blessed Sacrament, especially the Anabaptists.'

The Protestants were by no means disposed to acquiesce in this Recess. Through Chancellor Brück they contended that their Confession had *not* been

refuted; on the contrary it had been shown to be 'firmly and christianly' grounded upon Holy Writ, and they hoped to stand upon it at the Last Judgment Day. In further proof the Chancellor offered to the Emperor an 'Apologia' which Melanchthon had composed in refutation of the Catholic 'Confutatio,' but the Emperor refused to accept it. The Chancellor prudently avoided any definite reference to the remaining points of the imperial draft; on the subject of allowing the free exercise of the Catholic worship he had not one word to say. Again, on September 23, when Charles, represented by Joachim, Elector of Brandenburg, once more submitted his draft, and wished it to be known that 'the Emperor and the Electors would take adequate measures for its enforcement,' the Protestants stuck fast to their refusal, and demanded that the interval until April 15 should be granted them as a time for reflecting whether or not they should accept the Recess. Upon the renewed declaration of the Emperor 'that he should stand by the resolution he had formed with the rest of the princes and Estates, and had no intention of altering the Recess,' the negotiations came to an abrupt termination.

'Uncle, uncle,' exclaimed the Emperor, holding out his hand to the Elector of Saxony at his departure, 'I certainly had not expected this from your Grace.' Without returning a word the Elector left the palace and set off on the same day.

He had had medallions struck at Augsburg on which appeared his own bust and that of the Crown Prince, with the inscription, '*Evangelii Confessores Invictissimi.*'

A medal that was struck in honour of Luther bore

the likeness of the Reformer and the words 'Doctor Martin Luther, der Prophet Deutschlands.'[1]

Luther did indeed forecast the future of Germany.

In the memorandum drawn up by him on September 22, at the request of the Protestants, with reference to the Emperor's proposals, he went extensively into the reasons for absolutely rejecting them.

'Men had no right to permit the stemming or limiting of the free course of "the Gospel," for this would be nothing else than to put Christ out of existence—yea, to crucify and slay Him anew. The Augsburg Confession must endure, as the true and unadulterated Word of God, until the great Judgment Day. The Council could be accepted only on the condition that the Confession be acknowledged as true apart from any conciliar authority. Not even an angel from heaven could alter a syllable of it, and any angel "who dared to do so must be accursed and damned." Still less might Emperor, Pope, or bishops sit in judgment on it. The stipulations that monks and nuns still dwelling in their cloisters should not be expelled, and that the Mass should not be abolished, could not be accepted; for whoever acts against his conscience simply paves his way to hell. The monastic life and the Mass covered with infamous ignominy the merit and suffering of Christ. Of all horrors and abominations that could be mentioned the Mass was the greatest. As to the proposal that the reception of the Sacrament under one kind or two kinds should be left to the

[1] Juncker, p. 151. There is a medal of the year 1537 with the same inscription. Also in letters Luther was addressed as 'Propheta Domini ad Germanos.' See the letter of Myconius of 1529 in Seidemann, *Brieger's Zeitschrift*, iii. 305.

conscience of each individual, this was absolutely out of the question, since it would be equivalent to admitting that 'the person who receives one element only is guilty of no sin.'

In all these articles it was impossible to yield a hair's breadth, even if, in consequence, all Germany should go to destruction.

In Luther's own words, 'should any one set about to demonstrate in high-flown language how useful and advantageous it would be to the preservation of the public peace, to all pious people, to the German nation, to the Holy Roman Empire, and to the Christian faith, if some concessions were made in a few little points and articles; and if, on the other hand, he should point out the ruin, the disasters and misery that must befall the nation if a civil war should break out; if he pleaded that the result would be the overthrow of religion and Gospel on both sides, and the most deplorable confounding of all laws and statutes; that the Turks and other kings and princes would pounce upon the torn and distracted people of Germany; and that, in order to prevent these horrors, the peace should not be broken for the sake of a paltry dispute over a few Articles—the obvious answer to such a one is to say bluntly: 'Let the right prevail though the whole world be shattered in pieces.'[1]

'Throw peace, say I,' declared Luther, 'into the nethermost hell, if it is to be bought at the price of injury to faith and the Gospel, or if it hinder or damage them.' This means, of course, hindrance or damage to the two fundamental doctrines of the Lutheran Gospel; the doctrine of justification by faith alone, without

[1] Walch, xlvi. 1855–1856.

good works, as the instrument of eternal happiness, and the doctrine of the unfreedom of the human will.

From this declaration Luther never budged during his whole life.

His doctrine, which he maintained to be the pure and unadulterated Gospel, must be preached, though everything else should go to ruin. 'It is frightful, but so it must go on.' 'We hear men say that if the Pope falls Germany will be ruined, will be shattered to atoms. But what can I do? I cannot prevent it. Whose fault is it?' 'The yell still goes up, and men keep on declaiming: If the gospel had not been preached everything would have remained in peace. No, my brother, things will be better still; for Christ says: "I have yet many things to say and do." The moral is, you must let this preaching go on, or you will lose everything; not one stone shall remain upon another.'[1]

The effort to secure a peaceful accommodation with the Protestant cities at Augsburg were just as unsuccessful as had been the case with the Protestant princes.

On July 14 the Emperor had sent notice to the delegates of the cities: 'As he did not know with precision which creed each of them professed, or wished to profess, he therefore desired them to declare themselves openly.'[2]

From the beginning there had been an extreme lack of agreement among the cities represented at the Diet.

'No one knew,' reported the delegates from Ulm,

[1] *Collected Works*, xlvi. 226–229, xlviii. 342–343, 358, lix. 297, and lx. 82.

[2] Letter of the Nuremberg delegates, dated July 25, 1530, in *Corp. Reform.* ii. 199.

'who it was that sat in front of him. The town delegates act as if they were complete strangers to one another. Not one of them lets the others into the secret of his religious opinions, and we have no means of ascertaining whether any given city means to press for a council or for a national assembly.' The Protestant towns were 'at variance one with the other, the Lutheran with the Zwinglian, and Zwinglian with Zwinglian: the moderates with the Mass-exterminators, the neutrals with the allies of the Swiss.'[1] The town council of Biberach had given directions to its representatives 'in matters of faith and factions' to stand by Burgomaster Bernard Besserer, of Ulm. Should Ulm decide to return to the Catholic religion, Biberach would follow suit. Should Ulm adhere to the tenets of Luther, the Biberachers would also maintain them. Should Ulm, however, deem it advisable to introduce the teachings of Zwingli, Biberach would do the same.[2] But Burgomaster Besserer, whose decision was to determine the future religious beliefs of the citizens and subjects of Biberach, was himself halting between two sides. To the Protestant council of Ulm he reviled the Pope as 'the most unscrupulous blackguard on the face of the earth, who, if he had his way, would turn the Empire into a lake and drown every German in it.'[3] Simultaneously he was protesting to a secretary of the papal legate Campeggio: 'There was only one thing he detested more than a Lutheran, and that was a Sacramentarian.' None the less he shortly became a zealous adherent and defender of the Sacramentarians.

Few indeed had any clear conception as to what

[1] Keim, *Schwabische Reformationsgeschichte*, pp. 163–164.

[2] *Reformation zu Biberach*, pp. 24–25. [3] Keim, p. 162.

they really believed. The Reutlingers subscribed to the Augsburg Confession, although they had brought one of their own with them, which differed from the other in some essential points. The Nuremberg delegates also signed it, to the great indignation of Besserer, who gave them to understand that 'the towns were not acting in a rational manner, and those would sink deepest into the mire who were flattering themselves that they were creeping out the most deftly.' In order to give the Emperor an exhibition of 'their spirit,' the towns of Heilbronn, Kempten, Windsheim, and Weissenburg in Nordgau, attached their seals to the Confession of the Princes. Ulm handed in to the Emperor a separate writing, which, however, contained no definite creed,[1] but limited itself to a petition for a general council, 'at which the magistrates, through their theologians, would make known their religious opinions.'

Strasburg, Memmingen, Constance, and Lindau sent in a pronounced Zwinglian confession, the so-called 'Tetrapolitana' or confession of the four cities. It had been drawn up by Bucer and Capito. Brenz, in a letter to Isenmann, dated July 22, designated it as 'foxy and crafty.' Bucer himself acknowledged that the formula relating to the doctrine of the Eucharist was a *suppressio veri*.[2]

'This confession,' said the Emperor, 'corroborates what we had already learned from credible authority, and what was universally known—to wit, that the four cities in question have separated themselves in matters of faith not only from the other imperial cities, but from

[1] Keim, p. 183. See Keim's *Ulm*, pp. 185–186.

[2] See Keim, *Schwabische Reformationsgeschichte*, p. 179. 'Articulus de eucharistia immutatus est,' &c.

the entire German nation, and from the whole of Christendom. They have been guilty of grievous errors against the most adorable Sacrament. They have permitted wild iconoclastic orgies and other similar lawlessness. They have given free scope to repulsive sectarians, and have propagated their extravagances amongst the populace.'[1]

Bucer reports the Emperor as declaring that 'rather would he renounce his life than tolerate the insubordination of these cities.'[2] 'He had been heard to say,' wrote the Nuremberg delegates, 'he understood very well that the intention was to teach him a new religion; however this was not a question of religion, but of fists, and the event would show who was the stronger.'[3]

A refutation of the 'Tetrapolitana,' drawn up by order of the Emperor, was read in public session of the Diet. It concluded with the menace: 'If the cities did not return from these dangerous errors to reason and obedience, the Emperor would do all that his office required of him.'

Besides the Zwinglian towns, and the six towns which had subscribed to the confession of the Princes, Frankfort, Ulm, Schwäbisch-Hall, and eventually Augsburg refused to accept the Recess proposed by the Emperor.

Momentous for the future was now the question: 'What steps should be taken against the recusants?'

In the peace of Barcelona the Emperor had promised the Pope to use his best endeavours to win back those who had deviated from the orthodox faith with gentle means; and, in case they should remain stiff-

[1] *Neue Sammlung der Reichsabschiede* (Recesses), ii. 309.
[2] Keim, p. 181. [3] Ströbel, *Miscellaneen*, iii. 200.

necked and obdurate, to suppress by force of arms a schism which had given rise to so many insurrections and to so many violent persecutions of the Catholics. On the occasion also of Charles's interview with Clement VII. at Bologna, and, later, during his journey to Augsburg, the subject of a war against the Protestant Estates came in for serious consideration.[1]

When, then, all attempts at a peaceful settlement had failed at Augsburg, the Imperial Council of State went into the deliberation 'if, and how,' active steps should be taken against the Protestants, and an apprehended aggressive movement on their side might be forestalled.[2]

The papal legate Campeggio counselled recourse to arms, and the Emperor was of opinion that this was the most effectual course; but he lacked the necessary equipment.[3] Besides, he was appalled at the probable consequences of a civil war in Germany at a time

[1] Bucholtz, iii. 444-445; letter dated June 14, 1530, of Cardinal Campeggio, who accompanied the Emperor to Germany in the capacity of Papal Legate, in Laemmer, *Mon. Vat.* p. 38; Campeggio's Memorial and *Sommario* concerning the policy to be pursued towards Germany, written in May 1530, in Maurenbrecher, *Karl V. und die deutschen Protestanten*, Appendix, pp. 3-16.

[2] 'Articuli aliqui notati quomodo et qualiter Caesar rebelles in fide punire possit,' in Maurenbrecher, Appendix, pp. 16-21. The second of these 'Articuli' is thus worded: 'Secundo et principaliter: si volumus expectare, quod ipsi nos aggrediantur, vel nos ipsos, et quodcumque fiat, opus est, quod Caesar sit bene instructus cum omnibus oportunis et necessariis ad unam et ad alteram expeditionem. Quare inprimis sciendum est quid unusquisque ex istis principibus possit aut velit in alterutra istarum expeditionum facere, et hoc clare dicat et faciat. Idem est faciendum cum civitatibus bonis et catholicis.' 'Cogitet Caesar et Rex de personis suis, quod est principale et totum in toto. In fine et ante omnia Caesar studeat potius prevenire quam preveniri.'

[3] See the Emperor's despatch of September 4, 1530, to Micer Mai, his envoy in Rome, in Sandoval's *Historia de la Vida y Hechos del Emperador Carlos V.* (Valladolid, 1600), p. 103.

when the social and political unrest of the population might easily excite a revolutionary conflagration even in the Catholic districts, whilst over all impended the menacing shadow of the Turks.[1]

The Emperor could not reckon on any support from the majority of the Catholic Estates.

Only two of the secular notables were in favour of 'forcible measures,' Elector Joachim of Brandenburg and Duke George of Saxony. We are told by an anonymous informant, residing at the court of Charles, that 'these two princes looked on all disputations on matters of faith as a waste of time, just as the Emperor himself had held from the beginning, and they anticipated no other outcome from them than an increase of rancour and bitterness. They advocated stringent measures in enforcement of the laws of the Empire against open rebels, against the subverters of the worship of the Church, and against the despoilers of Church property and of charitable institutions.' It was their conviction that 'for too long already disorder had been condoned, churches and cloisters had been looted, and the peace of the Empire had been violated with impunity, while such a multitude of erroneous, heretical doctrines had been spread broadcast that as a consequence of all these dissensions and aberrations the poor people had become bewildered in faith and sunk in frightful depravity of morals. If those whom it concerned would continue to look on passively, then the entire Holy Empire would go to destruction and experience the fate of every distracted State.'

[1] See the Emperor's reply to the aggressive suggestions of Campeggio in Laemmer, *Mon. Vat.* p. 51; Campeggio's memorandum in Lanz, *Staatspapiere*, pp. 48-49.

'But when the matter came to a vote in the council of the Princes the Elector and the Duke were simply overwhelmed by the adverse majority. Among the secular lords the Bavarian dukes were especially opposed to any forcible measures against the recusants; for, though personally not at all inclined to abandon the Catholic religion, they were antagonistic to the Emperor and his brother, and were determined that Ferdinand should not become King of the Romans. Indeed, it was an open secret that Duke William was actively intriguing to have himself made King.'[1]

By the end of July 1529 these intrigues of the Bavarian Dukes had succeeded to the extent of securing a contract between the Elector Albert, Archbishop of Mayence, and Duke William, in which the Elector, in return for large advances of money, pledged himself 'to stand by the Duke in any election of Emperor or King of the Romans.'[2] The Palatine Elector Ludwig had likewise given in his adhesion, and had caused to be prepared the rough draft of a motion to elect Duke William.[3] Conferences were held at Augsburg between the Bavarian dukes and the Elector of Saxony for the purpose of opposing the election of Ferdinand as King of the Romans.[4]

Of the 'spiritual' Princes, Archbishop Albert of Mayence, Hermann, Archbishop of Cologne (who, at

[1] 'Aufzeichnungen eines Ungenannten,' in the *Codex Trierer Sachen und Briefschaften.*

[2] The treaty is found in Stumpf's *Urkundenbuch*, pp. 5–12. Albert received in advance from the Duke the sum of 12,000 florins, stipulating that he would return the money if the Duke's election could not be carried. We find that as late as the year 1534 he had not made full restitution. See Stumpf, p. 52, note 2.

[3] Stumpf, p. 54; cp. Wilde, p. 46 *sq.*

[4] The letters in Förstemann, ii. 768, 820.

a later date, went clean over to Protestantism), and Bishop Christopher von Stadion, of Augsburg, all 'leaned more to the opposition than to the Catholic party.' 'The Archbishop of Mayence totters now this way and now that, and not a soul knows to which side he will eventually fall;[1] for he is extremely addicted to worldly pomp and display, is of a timorous disposition, and is more heavily encumbered with debts than any other of the Princes. The Archbishop of Cologne is easily worked upon; for he knows nothing about religion, and is even more cowardly than his colleague of Mayence. The Bishop of Augsburg is a man of strict morals, but he is not firm in the faith.'[2]

In a Protestant report we find the following statement concerning these princes of the Church: 'These three are half evangelical, and would not be sorry if they were turned into secular princes. If all the others were like these three, we should easily settle matters with them.'[3]

[1] In the year 1532 Albert graciously accepted Melanchthon's dedication to the Archbishops of his *Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans*, and rewarded him for it with a goblet and thirty florins. To the ex-nun Catharine von Bora, now Luther's wife, he once sent a present of twenty florins, which Luther, however, declined to receive. See Seidemann, *Luther's Grundbesitz*, p. 477; Kostlin, *M. Luther*, ii. 417-418.

[2] These character sketches proceed from the pen of the above-mentioned anonymous writer of the *Aufzeichnungen*. With regard to the Archbishop of Cologne, Campeggio's relation of November 25, 1530, has preserved an utterance of the Emperor: 'The man is neither Catholic nor Lutheran; he is a downright heathen.' See Ehses, *Landgraf Philipp*, p. 18, note 1.

[3] Letter of July 20, 1530, in Hassencamp, i. 270, note 1. Justus Jonas towards the end of June wrote from Augsburg to Luther: 'Dicitur episcopus Augustanus in privatis colloquiis huiusmodi edidisse vocem: illa quæ recitata sunt' (the Augsburg Confession) 'vera sunt, sunt pura veritas; non possumus inficiari' (*Corp. Reform.* ii. 154; cp. 241-242; also Luther's letter of November 3, 1530, in De Wette, iv. 190).

'The most ominous feature of the situation is,' writes an imperial partisan, 'that his Imperial Majesty, who is filled with the best intentions for the advancement of the faith and of Christian morality, can place so little reliance on the chief shepherds of the people. There are but few courageous souls among them. I do not deny that they may number apostolic men among them; but whether the number of these amounts to twelve, and contains but a solitary Judas Iscariot, this is a problem which I reserve to the judgment of God.'[1]

Since the lay princes treated the Church as if she were a merely secular institution, giving her 'the kiss of Judas,' and thrusting their relatives into the episcopal offices and dignities, 'without taking the trouble to inquire,' says Duke George of Saxony, 'whether they entered through the door or scrambled in under the lintel, or dropped down from the roof,' it was but natural that 'gentlemen who had gained an entrance in such fashion' should 'deport themselves as if their benefices had been purchased for a family inheritance.' In character and conduct the most of them were not so much prelates as worldly princes with ecclesiastical titles; and they vied with the secular lords in luxury and good cheer, in hunting and gambling. Many of them were puppets in the hands of lay councillors, who not unfrequently were in secret league with the chiefs of the new religionists, and received bribes from them. Several of the bishops had formally joined the ranks of the innovators, and publicly cultivated the friendship of the Reformers, in the hope of emancipating themselves from all dependence on Rome and from

[1] *Aufzeichnungen*, as above.

the duty of obedience to the Holy See.[1] What the papal legate, Aleander, had said in 1521, at the time of the Diet of Worms, continued to hold good for a long time: 'The bishops quake and tremble, and let themselves be gobbled up like hares.' No less accurate were the reports of Aleander and other papal legates who had made themselves well acquainted with the religious conditions of Germany, that 'the unpriestly lives of bishops and inferior clergy, who refused to amend their conduct in spite of the dire afflictions which had befallen the Church, were chiefly responsible for the hatred borne by the people towards the clergy.'[2] The bishops, consequently, could not rely on their own subjects, 'and this, of itself, was sufficient to reveal to discerning observers the cause of their perpetual cowardice and faint-heartedness, also of their lack of union, at a time when it behoved them to rally manfully and unitedly about the Emperor in a crusade against lawlessness.'[3]

The absence of union among the Catholic Estates, and their excessive timidity, were in full evidence at

[1] In the year 1532 the Venetian ambassador, Tiepolo, expressed the following opinion with regard to the attitude of the German bishops: 'It is the intense desire of all the bishops of Germany to wield in their dioceses, as well in the conferring of benefices as in the management of ecclesiastical trials, an absolute power, in no manner subordinate to or dependent on the papal authority. They wish to be, as it were, Popes in all places, subject to the jurisdiction of their Churches, alleging that the power of binding and loosing granted by Christ to Peter was likewise given to the other apostles, and was, therefore, no more the privilege of the Roman Church than of every other Church. This is the desire of all of them.' He also informs us that several bishops wished to make themselves secular lords in their dioceses and take wives, after the example of the Grand Master of Prussia. See his report in *Albèri*, Serie I. v. i. 124.

[2] Throughout this volume we have several times referred to similar reports of the legates.

[3] *Aufzeichnungen.*

Augsburg, and could not fail to increase the stubbornness of the Protestants. When the Emperor, through the Elector Joachim of Brandenburg, insisted, in peremptory language, on the acceptance of the Recess, 'some of the princes and bishops took fright and spoke of it as if a great wrong had been done, and made humble apologies to the Estates of the opposite party.'[1] Joachim had said: 'The doctrines contained in the Confession of the Protestants had been confuted by the clear testimony of Holy Writ, and had been condemned as heretical and unchristian by former Christian councils. The Emperor was astonished that any one could venture to insinuate that he and the other electors, princes, and Estates had erred in faith. If this were their contention, it followed that his Imperial Majesty's venerable ancestors, emperors and kings, as well as the revered ancestors of the Elector of Saxony and of the other princes, must be branded as heretics. Hence his Majesty can by no means acknowledge that the Confession which had been submitted was founded in the Gospel. But since the Emperor was anxious to see peace reign in the Empire and elsewhere, he had, with extreme lenience, placed this Recess before the Protestants, desiring them to accept it, and leaving them to consider, in case of refusal, how much misery, discord, and disunion they would make themselves responsible for in the sight of God. In no Scripture or Gospel was it written that one might take by force what belonged to another, and then plead he could not conscientiously give it back. If the Recess was not agreed to, the Emperor would be compelled to resort to strong measures.'

[1] *Aufzeichnungen*, as above.

'Furthermore,' proceeded Joachim, 'the remaining Imperial Estates had instructed him to declare, that if the Elector of Saxony and his party would not agree to the Recess, they, as dutiful princes of the Empire, had pledged themselves to the Emperor to place at his disposal their persons and all that they possessed, in order to aid him in the settlement of this disturbance. The Emperor, on his part, had given them the consoling assurance that he would stake all his possessions, kingdoms, and dominions on this issue, and that he would not depart from the Empire till the affair had been brought to a conclusion.'[1]

After a renewed rejection of the Recess by the Protestants the Elector Joachim had spoken in a sterner strain: 'If the Estates persisted in their refusal the Emperor would take counsel with the Pope and with other Christian potentates as to what he ought to do in order to preserve the true Christian faith, to uproot modern error, and to restore concord and unity in Germany.' It was also the Emperor's strict command that the ejected abbots, monks, and others be reinstated in their possessions; 'for the Emperor had received many supplications on this subject.' The Elector reproved the Estates for tolerating in their cities preachers who had stirred up the revolt of the peasants, and other individuals who had treated contemptuously and dishonourably several electors and princes.[2]

Immediately after the delivery of this address the Archbishop of Mayence sent an assurance to the councillors of Saxony and Hesse who had remained behind in Augsburg: 'It was not true, as stated by his brother,

[1] *Aufzeichnungen*, as above. [2] Walch, xvi. 1872–1873.

that he had pledged himself to render assistance against the Protestants.' Similar assurances and excuses were given by the councillors of the Archbishop of Treves and of the Duke of Cleves. In like manner Duke Ludwig of Bavaria declared that Joachim of Brandenburg had, in his speech, gone 'beyond his instructions.' Duke Henry of Brunswick, who had made a secret treaty with Philip of Hesse to reinstate Duke Ulrich of Würtemberg even, if need were, at the expense of the public peace and by force of arms, informed the Saxon councillors that he was opposed to this harsh Recess, and that he meant to pay a visit to the Elector on pretence of a boar hunt. The councillors of the Elector Palatine told the Saxons that they had brought complaint of Joachim's menaces before the Emperor, who had replied to them in person: 'He was wrong and went too far.' [1]

Such was in fact the case.

Nothing in the nature of an aggressive league against the Protestant Estates had been concluded between the Emperor and the Catholic Estates. They had simply agreed to a defensive alliance in the contingency of attacks from the opposite party.

To the question addressed to the Estates by the Emperor just previously to the proclamation of the Recess, 'What steps were to be taken in case the opposition'—namely, Saxony and the other Protestants—'should not consent to an accommodation with his Majesty, or should attempt fresh intrigues against him?' the answer followed: 'Let the Emperor issue a religious mandate on the basis of the Edict of Worms and of the later decrees enforcing this Edict,

[1] Their narrative in Förstemann, ii. 614–620, 624, 645.

with a strict injunction to all the Estates to act in conformity therewith.'

'In consideration of the magnitude and difficulty of the problem it were advisable to make a final attempt to win over the Protestants—or a portion of them—by suitable means. Should Saxony and his partisans continue to show themselves intractable, it was then the duty of the Emperor, as guardian and protector of the Christian Church, to notify his disobedient subjects, by means of a well-reasoned mandate, 'either to desist from their evil course or else to put in an appearance on a given date, in order to see or to hear that the Emperor intended to pronounce against them a sentence of condign punishment. If, notwithstanding, Saxony and the rest still persisted in their obduracy, his Majesty should proceed to such legal process as the case demanded. But if, in the interim, either in consequence of the threatened punishment or for any other reason connected with the present religious dissensions, Saxony and the others should undertake to circumvent his Imperial Majesty, or any of the Estates of the Empire, or to embark on fresh intrigues, then a State council must consider how best to meet the emergency.'[1]

In perfect accord with this resolution of the Estates was the declaration made by the Emperor to the Saxon councillors 'that he had concluded an engagement with the remaining Estates of the ancient religion for the purpose of repelling violence or aggression; the aim of the alliance was to defend themselves, not to attack others.'[2]

This was likewise the spirit which dictated the terms

[1] Bucholtz, iii. 491-492. [2] In Förstemann, ii. 780, 785, 812.

of the Recess, promulgated on November 19, to the following effect :—

'The Emperor had come to a perfect understanding with all those who had accepted his proposed edict, and he has agreed and promised in sincere faith "that no one, whether he belong to the lay or to the clerical order, shall do violence to another, or oppress him, or make war upon him, on account of his religious beliefs; nor deprive him of his lawful rents, fines, tithes, or other possessions; nor shall he, on pretence of religious faith, or on any other pretext, grant special shelter and protection against their proper superiors to the subjects or kinsfolk of another;" the whole of which under sanction of the penalties to be ordered by the *Landfriede* enacted at Worms.'[1]

The Catholic notables, who had allied themselves with the Emperor in the Recess for the maintenance of the ancient faith, certainly did not need to pledge themselves 'not to oppress or do violence to each other on account of religion' for the regulation of their mutual intercourse. The pledge was aimed at the Protestant Estates, against which, in case they proceeded to acts of aggression, the Catholics promised mutually to protect each other.

In order that in the 'practical working and execution' of the decree directed against the oppression of any Estate by another, on pretext of religion, 'no deficiency should ensue,' the Emperor and the Estate assumed the mutual obligation 'in matters touching the old Christian faith and religion loyally, each for other, to risk kingdoms, land and people, lives moreover, and property.' Should any Estate presume to

[1] New Collection of *Reichsabschiede* (Recesses), ii. 316, § 65.

invade the territories of another with an armed force or other violent means, the Imperial Chamber should have authority, under threat of outlawry, to issue a command to the party levying troops and menacing martial preparations 'to desist from his proposed course of violence and invasion, and content himself with a legal procedure.' Should the aforesaid party refuse to obey, he shall be declared under the ban, and the sentence of outlawry shall be executed by the neighbouring Estates of the Empire. In short, for the maintenance of peace and union, and for the avoidance of war, no Estate shall, under any pretext, do violence or injury to another.[1]

The demand made by the plenipotentiaries of the Protestant princes that 'their masters, and all whom it concerned, should not be liable to any legal process instituted either in the Fiscal Court or in the Imperial Chamber, in matters concerning faith or religion, until the convocation of the Council,' was not granted. The Emperor contended that 'he could not permit his prerogative and authority to be encroached upon, for to execute justice and see that justice prevailed was his Majesty's highest duty and privilege.'[2]

The section of the Recess which related to religion was of the following import:—

It first mentioned in detail the efforts made by the Emperor to induce the Protestant Estates to accept it; also that a respite had been granted them until April 15 following, in order that they might bethink themselves of an accommodation with him and the other Estates of the Empire in matters of religion; that, in the

[1] New Collection of *Reichsabschiede* (Recesses), ii. 316-317, §§ 66, 72.

[2] See the negotiations in Förstemann, ii. 784 *sq.*

interim, they were to introduce no further innovations, but were to live in sincere peace and harmony with the remaining Estates, and the latter with them. They were to compel no one to join their sect; their Catholic subjects were to be permitted the free exercise of their religion. The expelled monks and nuns were to be reinstated in their possessions, and were not to be molested with regard to the Mass, Confession, and the administration and reception of the most blessed Sacrament.

It went on to say that the Protestant princes and cities had rejected these articles as well as the Emperor's request 'that they should come to some agreement with him and the rest of the Estates as to the proper method of proceeding against those who denied the Sacrament and against the Anabaptists.'

Wherefore the Emperor had entered into a compact with the Estates that remained loyal 'to stand by the true and ancient Christian faith and to protect the same.' Enumerating one by one the flagrant and multitudinous errors which had been taught and preached, the Recess states that they have brought the direst disasters upon the Empire—contempt of the Church, vituperation of the civil magistrates, estrangement among pious and simple folk; all genuine piety extinguished in the breasts of the people; Christian honour, discipline, fear of God, true fraternal charity, all vanished from the land.'

After all, this description of the practical workings of the schism in the faith is no darker than are many private and public utterances made by the new religionist preachers themselves.

The Recess went on to say that, in spite of all

innovations; the old faith and worship must be preserved intact. For the prevention of further heresy such preachers only were to be admitted to the pulpit whose doctrine, character, and ability had been tested and approved by the bishops. All priests who were suspected of being married were to be forthwith suspended from their offices and benefices, and must not be permitted to resume their priestly functions until they had dismissed their wives and been absolved from censures by the Holy See. 'All the preachers were to avoid and omit in their sermons anything which might tend to incite the common people against their rulers, or to incense Christian people one against another.' Above all they were to abstain from the calumny which not a few of them had shamelessly spread about, 'that an attempt was being made to stifle and exterminate the Gospel and the holy Word of God.' 'Verily no such wish or intent has ever been entertained by us or by the Estates that share our sentiments. On the contrary, it has been our constant desire and solicitude, and we are still of this Christian disposition, to promote by all means the propagation and maintenance of God's holy Word, for the increase of Christian charity, fear of God, piety and good works; but we cannot endure that it be made a cover for individual caprice, selfish aims, envy, pride, or the seduction of the unintelligent common laity, as is now the fashion with these new teachers. It is our wish and meaning that the preachers expound and teach the Gospel according to the sense in which the universal Christian Church has approved and accepted the exposition of the Holy Scriptures and the fathers, and that they avoid all disputatious questions, also all insulting, abusive, and contumelious language,

and await the decision of the future Christian Council. Moreover these same preachers must be particularly careful not to deter the poor Christian people from attending the holy Mass, from prayers and other good works, as, alas! they have hitherto done in many places. Rather they ought to instruct the poor people properly, and direct and urge them to assist at the holy Mass with great devotion, and to offer up their prayers to God religiously, and also to commend themselves devoutly to the Virgin Mary and to the dear Saints, that they may intercede for them with God; also to observe the festivals and the days appointed for fasting and abstinence by the tradition of the Church. They must not incite people in religion and others to violate their vows, but rather admonish them that they are bound to keep them. Let them, furthermore, inculcate the duty of almsgiving and other good and charitable Christian works.'

Whereas much evil had been caused by 'the disorderly press,' a strict supervision was to be exercised over printers and publishers, to the end that in future no novelty, and especially no lampoons, caricatures, and the like, should be printed and sold without the previous sanction of persons appointed to this office by the spiritual and civil authorities.

All the bishoprics, cloisters, and churches that had been laid waste were to be restored to their former condition, and all bishops and other clerics, monks also and nuns who had been driven from their possessions were to regain their property; those who had not yet been molested were, under penalty of outlawry, to be left tranquilly in their convents and in the enjoyment of their goods. For 'by divine, canonical, and imperial

law' it was ordered that 'no one should, by his own arbitrary will, without legal procedure, and in unseemly guise, seize upon and rob the goods of another, more particularly the goods dedicated to the Church and to God; still less plunder and devastate institutions founded for the glory and praise of God.'

To all those, burghers and others, having a residence within the dominions of Protestant Estates, 'who had remained loyal to the true and ancient faith,' and were averse to the new 'perverse and seditious teachings,' the Emperor extended his special protection and that of the Empire, and he commanded that they be granted free permission to emigrate without the imposition of tolls or removing duties.

The convocation of a Council, the Recess declared, was 'of the most urgent necessity in order that the above-mentioned errors, abuses, and grievances in our holy religion give way to a better condition of things.' Yielding to the unanimous request of the Estates, as well the Catholic as the others, the Emperor had determined 'to set about a Christian reform and regulation of the Christian faith.' He would so arrange things with the Pope 'that his Holiness would within six months from the close of this Diet issue the summons for a general Christian Council in some convenient place, and the Council would, at the latest, be held one year from the date of such summons.' The Emperor and the Estates felt 'a consoling confidence' that the other Christian kings and princes would be pleased to hear that the Council was to be held, and appear at it in person, and contribute their help towards re-establishing peace and unity in Christendom, as well in spiritual as in temporal concerns.

At Bologna the Pope had acceded to the Emperor's demand for a Council, on condition, however, that, in the interim, the religious innovators would return to obedience to the Church. Charles had hoped to be able to effect this at the Diet of Augsburg.

This hope was now shattered. Nevertheless the Emperor still held firmly to his persuasion of 'the supreme necessity' of the Council, and was indefatigable in his efforts to prevail on the Pope to convene it. In the most emphatic terms he pointed out what an 'inestimable advantage' it would be for the reunion of those who had separated themselves from the Church, for the reform of abuses, for the honour of the Apostolic See, for the strengthening the faith of the Catholic people, and for effecting a coalition of the Christian powers for the struggle against the Turks. 'I should not be fulfilling my duty to God and to your Holiness,' he wrote, 'if I did not say all this plainly and decisively.'[1]

The Pope was wavering, and set before the Emperor all the difficulties connected with the convening and holding of a Council; how imprudent it would be to allow the heretics to expound anew their oft-condemned errors; how little prospect there was that men who had rejected the authority of all former Councils would yield obedience to the decisions of a new one; how easily at the Council the old controversy regarding the relation of Pope and Council might crop up again and occasion a schism.[2]

[1] Details in Pastor's *Reunionsbestrebungen*, pp. 71–75.

[2] Pastor's *Reunionsbestrebungen*, pp. 76–77. That the Pope was for a long time opposed to the idea of a Council is apparent from the letters of Loaysa in Heine, pp. 27, 43, 50, 68.

The Pope also discovered difficulties of a political nature. He was astonished, so he told the Emperor's confessor, Loaysa, who was then sojourning in Rome, that the Emperor was not considering the certainty of the King of France's using the Council as a means of stirring up his seditious subjects against him, since just now at Augsburg Francis had so manœuvred with and through them that the proceedings had come to naught. For if the rebels were to return to the orthodox faith there must accrue a great increase of power to the Emperor, which already was a source of envy to the King; whereas if they persisted in heresy he reckoned on a civil war breaking out in Germany.[1]

Towards the end of November 1530, 'in spite of all difficulties,' it was unanimously resolved in the Sacred College that 'in reliance upon the Emperor, whom God had sent for the protection of the Church in her present dangers, the Council must be convened.' The arguments with which the imperial party had enforced

[1] Letter of Loaysa, dated November 30, 1530, in Heine, pp. 393-394. The passage runs: 'Me dijo el Papa que si el Rey de Francia les ha soplado á las espaldas para que con ellos non pudiese desaprovechar en esta dieta de Augusta por sola envidia que tiene á vuestra prosperidad, que se espanta como V. Md. no piensa que en el concilio les dará el mesmo calor y aun mas crecido para su obstinacion, pues que convertirse ellos á la fé, es magnifiesta pujança de vuestra autoridad y quedar hereges es necesario que V. Md. quede obligado á hacer guerra á sus vasallos y gastar sus dineros en esta empresa que basta para que el francés se bañe en agua rosada.' The English ambassador at the French court wrote on January 20, 1531, to Henry VIII. respecting Francis: 'The Kyng, your brother, spake of the Generall Councel, saying that the Emperour could gett nothyng of them in Almayne, till they saw a Generall Councel, soe that the Emperour procurys yt as myche as He may.' He reports the King as saying to him: 'Lett the Pope and the Emperour do what they lyst, I wyl be the Kyng my brother's frende, in spyte of them all, in ryght or wrong' (Bryan's Reports in the *State Papers*, vii. 277, 278).

the necessity of this step had 'quite converted the Pope,' wrote Loaysa to Charles, 'for the Pope esteems very highly the veracity, the steadfastness, the upright intentions, and the pure and honourable heart of your Majesty.' On December 1 the Pope announced in a breve to King Ferdinand that he had resolved upon convoking the Council as soon as possible, being convinced it was the best means of healing the schism; and that he was about to address himself on the subject to all the Christian princes.[1]

The end which the Emperor had hoped to attain at the Diet of Augsburg had by no means been reached. Rather the chasm in the Empire had grown wider than before. As might have been foreseen, an adjustment of religious differences was discovered to be utterly impossible. Neither had all the exertions of the Emperor succeeded in patching up an external or temporary peace, because the Protestant Estates had refused point blank to recede from their arrogant principle of territorial Churchdom, or to restore the plundered Church property to its legitimate owners, or to allow any freedom of religion to the Catholic subjects within their dominions.

'In the innate goodness and gentleness of his soul,' says one who was present at Augsburg in the imperial cortège, 'the Emperor had come to Augsburg full of confidence that he should be able to effect a great improvement in the condition of the Empire, as well with regard to religious unity as to the public welfare. But he grew heavy at heart, and ofttimes bitterly lamented that everything was going awry: no unity in faith; no union against the Turks; and the Empire—

[1] Raynald, *ad. an.* 1530, No. 175.

may God avert the danger!—on the brink of civil war.'[1]

In order to avert at least a war for the succession to the crown, and to provide the Empire with an executive officer invested with sufficient power and dignity to command respect, in place of the incapable and dishonoured *Reichsregiment*, the Emperor endeavoured to persuade the Electors to choose his brother Ferdinand as King of the Romans. Eight years before he had ceded to his brother the German portion of his hereditary dominions; and during the session of the Diet on September 5 he solemnly invested him with these hereditary domains, adding thereto the Austrian possessions in Suabia, and also Würtemberg. He paid no attention to the 'petition of many Princes for the reinstatement of Duke Ulrich of Würtemberg.' But he did not by any means shut out the possibility of further pacific negotiations with a view to this restoration of the exiled Duke or to an accommodation with Ulrich or his son Christopher; for when he invested Ferdinand with Würtemberg he accepted the codicil proposed by the Princes—'without prejudice to the rights of any one, and in so far as his Imperial Majesty hath legal authority in the premisses.'[2]

With regard to Ferdinand's election as King of the Romans, an agreement was reached between the Emperor and all the Electors, with the sole exception of the Saxon. By the terms of this the election was to take place not in Frankfort, because the plague was there raging—and, besides, the town was in a state of insubordination to the Emperor on account of religion—

[1] The oft-mentioned *Aufzeichnungen*.

[2] Bucholtz, iii. 577; Heyd, ii. 375.

but in Cologne.[1] The Elector of Saxony was invited to the election, but he was not present, and he sent in a formal protest against the election, which, however, took place at Cologne on January 5, 1531, with great festivities.[2] Two days afterwards Ferdinand delivered to the Electors a written declaration, in which he pledged himself that he would 'with all solicitude defend and protect Christendom and the Roman See, his Holiness the Pope, and the Christian Church, maintaining the ancient, praiseworthy, traditional religion and rites in accordance with the Augsburg Decree until the final close of the forthcoming General Council. Thereupon followed the customary promises that he would protect the rights of each and every one; that he would conclude no foreign alliances without the consent of the majority of the electors; that he would not alienate or hypothecate any property of the Empire;

[1] Stumpf, *Urkundenbuch*, pp. 12–15. The memorial regarding the means by which the election of Ferdinand was to be carried, in particular the bribes of money and promises through which the Elector Albert of Mayence was to be won over, is found in Lanz, *Staatspapiere*, pp. 50–53. For the promises made to each of the Electors see Ranke, iii. 221. Francis I. claimed to have heard from a credible source (see his letter of July 8, 1530, in Capefigue, *François I^er^ et la Renaissance*, iii. 159, note) that the reason why the Emperor had turned the election in the direction of Ferdinand was simply because he foresaw that the Electors would positively reject his son, whom he naturally would have preferred as his successor. Certain it is that Ferdinand's election was not palatable even to the electors who voted for him, as is evidenced by the remarks made by some of them at Augsburg to the Venetian envoy, Tiepolo. 'They could not refrain,' he writes, 'from expressing to me their indignation that such a thing could have been thought of. . . . His overweening power makes him odious throughout Germany; therefore no one wishes his election. They told me that even if he should be elected he would not command the obedience that is requisite in Germany' (Albère, Series I. i. 105).

[2] At the Solemn Mass about 10,000 persons received Holy Communion. See the relation of the papal legate, dated January 23, 1531, in Laemmer, *Mantissa*, p. 203.

and that he would appoint none but Germans to imperial offices.[1]

Ferdinand was crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle on January 11, and he concluded in that city a ten years' league with the Electors to the effect that 'they would stand by each other loyally in the event of any of them being attacked or suffering violence, whether on account of the election itself or of any circumstance connected with or flowing from it, no matter what might be the pretext of the assault. In case of an invasion with an armed force they would assist one another with all their might. If Ferdinand should be compelled to take the field against any insurgent on account of the election, all the Electors would contribute towards defraying the expenses of the expedition.[2]

In the Emperor's Council of State the question was once more discussed in Aix-la-Chapelle whether it were best to await an attack on the part of the Elector of Saxony and his partisans, or to assume an aggressive position. In a memorandum of advice it was suggested to the Emperor to make the following declaration to the Electors: 'The Elector of Saxony, his son and others who have fallen away from the faith are obdurately persisting in their errors and are seeking every opportunity of drawing others over to the same and of concluding bargains and leagues with them. By such conduct they give clearly to understand that they are simply biding the opportune moment for resorting to arms. It is necessary, therefore, for the protection of the Faith, for the maintenance of imperial authority, and for the salvation of Germany, that the Emperor, the

[1] Winckelmann, *Schmalkald. Bund*, pp. 61–62.

[2] Bucholtz, iii. 590–591.

King, and the Electors take counsel together as to the proper course of action in any emergency that may arise, whether for defence or, if need be, for an aggressive movement.' Let the Emperor, accordingly, propose that a confederation be formed between himself, Ferdinand, and the Electors, with the view not only of withstanding the aggressions of the Protestants, but also of forestalling the same. Furthermore let no effort be spared to win other confederates to the cause.[1]

But at the very time these questions were being discussed by the Imperial Council a plan of attack against the Emperor and his brother had long been matured, not indeed by the Saxon, but by Philip of Hesse and his fellow-conspirators.

[1] 'Ce que semble *saulf meilleur advis* l'empereur peut faire proposer aux électeurs (à Aix),' in Lanz, *Staatspapiere*, pp. 57–59. Compare Ranke, vi. 143, and by all means Winckelmann, *Schmalkald. Bund*, pp. 64 *sq.*, 273. He has availed himself of the archives of Vienna. The Emperor deemed an alliance necessary to meet the contingency of the Protestants refusing obedience to the Council. The Electors, however, were of a contrary opinion. They maintained that the arrangements agreed upon at the Cologne election, together with the public *Landsfriede* and the decrees of Augsburg and Spires, formed quite a sufficient defence against any movement or attack from the Protestant party. They insisted upon exhausting all peaceful means of extricating the nation from its difficulties, the chief of which they judged to be the speedy convocation of a Council in some convenient place within the Empire; Metz seemed preferable (Winckelmann, *ubi supra*; Baumgarten, iii. 49 *sq.*)

BOOK II

CHAPTER I

AN ARMED ATTACK PLANNED AGAINST THE EMPEROR—THE LEAGUE OF SMALCALD—THE ZWINGLIAN DISTURBANCES IN SUABIA—FRESH OVERTURES OF PEACE FROM THE EMPEROR

DURING the sitting of the Diet of Augsburg, on July 28, 1530, Philip of Hesse and Duke Henry of Brunswick had renewed their secret treaty for the restoration of Ulrich of Würtemberg. They had agreed to mass their armies together, at Whitsuntide, four or five miles off from Frankfort, and to march into Würtemberg; nothing short of death was to hinder them from carrying out this plan—'no injunction or prohibition from the Emperor, or the Reichsregiment, or the Kammergericht; not even remonstrances from their own subjects.'[1] A few days later Philip's secret flight from Augsburg took place. 'The devil threatens us with great disaster,' the Lutheran divine Brenz had before complained, alluding to the Landgrave and his adherents, 'not so much from the Imperialists as from the "men of Antioch." Wonderful are the wiles of this Philip, and his multifarious intrigues. We verily

[1] Hortleder, *Ursachen*, iv. 1061-1062.

fear that he carries a deadly poison about with him.'[1] Melanchthon and Brenz had endeavoured to dissuade the Landgrave from his intentions, representing to him that 'the Zwinglians boast that they are well equipped with money and men, that they have powerful allies, and that they mean to portion out the bishoprics among themselves and to emancipate themselves. But even if the doctrines they profess were sound such proceedings would still be unchristian; for they must inevitably lead to terrible havoc among the Churches and the overthrow of all government.'[2]

'When the flowers begin to bud,' Philip wrote on October 10, 1530, to his friend Zwingli, he meant to unsheath the sword.[3] On October 19 he requested the Council of Zürich to buckle on their harness and meet him. 'As nobody knew when the opposite party might take the field, the town of Constance urged on the town of Zürich that troops should forthwith be levied, all the military posts filled, munitions of war ordered, artillery and other necessaries provided, so as to be ready to march out at any moment. Strasburg also began to equip for war.

On November 18 a 'Christian agreement' was concluded between the Landgrave and the towns of Zürich, Basle, and Strasburg. Philip's wish to send an embassy to the King of France to induce him to join the league was not complied with just then, for Francis I. had formed a fresh friendship with the Emperor, and would not allow 'the Gospel' to be preached in his kingdom in its true sense.

A 'powerful alliance' for the overthrow of the

[1] *Corp. Reform.* ii. 52. See Pastor's *Reunionsbestrebungen*, p. 38.
[2] *Ibid.* ii. 95.
[3] *Zwinglii Opp.* viii. 534.

Empire and the extirpation 'of all Popish abominations' was concluded between Zwingli and the Zürich Council, which was entirely under his lead. On September 26, 1530, Zwingli said in a letter to the preacher Conrad Sam at Ulm, in which he clamoured vehemently for the secession of the free cities of South Germany and Suabia: 'The Emperor, under pretence of defending the Church, is only seeking to subjugate the towns and rob them of their freedom.' 'But I preach to deaf ears. I do not mean that your ears are deaf, but those of your people, who adore the Roman—that is to say, a foreign—rule, with such superstitious bigotry that they are ready to bend the neck, with a folly unparalleled in any nation, to the yoke of a tyrant brought over from a distance. For what has Germany in common with Rome? Think of the rhyme: "Papstthum und Kaiserthum, die sind beide von Rom (Popedom and Emperordom, both of them from Rome do come)."' The Emperor Charles, he said, was an inexperienced stripling, a young and superstitious Spaniard; a great misfortune it was that he had been set up on the highest throne. If they (the Protestants) quietly tolerated that Rome should suppress 'the true religion,' they would be no less to blame for the denial or contempt of the faith than those Roman oppressors.[1]

The Council of Zürich declared to its co-confederates on February 13, 1531, at a meeting in Basle, that 'now was the opportune moment for taking up arms against the Emperor, while he was still unprepared with help, so as to weaken his power and triumph over his

[1] 'Exemplum est,' he added, 'apud Jeremiam, 15, ubi exterminium comminatur Deus Israeli, quod Manassen permisissent impune esse pessimum' (*Zwinglii Opp.* viii. 383, 493).

artifices. If he was allowed time to rally all his forces together, he would undoubtedly compass their ruin and subjection.'

Moreover a fight against the papacy involved of necessity a fight against the Empire. 'For the two,' the Zürich councillors went on to say, 'are so bound up together, so closely related to each other, that neither can stand or fall without the other; therefore whosoever wishes to put down the Pope must depose the Emperor also, or *vice versa*. Whichever of them gains strength gives strength to the other.'[1]

Such was the manner in which the town of Zürich preached rebellion against the Emperor.

At the end of March 1531 the French ambassador Meigret, after negotiating with a delegate from Zürich, offered, as the course of affairs seemed now tending to a war with the Emperor (an event which the King of France welcomed), to ask the King if he would not, as soon as the war commenced, pay the people of Zürich a sum of money which had already been owing to them for a considerable length of time.

In order to oppose to the Emperor 'the full strength of the united Evangelicals,' a new attempt was made, chiefly through the exertions of Philip of Hesse, to reconcile the Lutherans and the Zwinglians, and thereby to effect an alliance with the Elector of Saxony and his adherents.

The Elector of Saxony, on his return from the Diet of Augsburg, had again declared to Wenzel Link at Nuremberg thât he would not fight against the Emperor, who was his liege lord. But in November 1530 he wrote to the Nurembergers that his councillors and

[1] H. Bullinger's *Reformationsgeschichte*, ii. 342.

doctors were unanimously of opinion that it was quite justifiable to defend oneself against the Emperor. Luther also, who had formerly taught very differently, was won over to this opinion by Saxon jurists and by Philip of Hesse. It was undoubtedly justifiable to withstand the Emperor, Philip had said in a letter to Luther, if 'he was going to set up the devil's doctrine again.' The Emperor had 'bound himself by oaths to us, just as much as we had pledged ourselves to him, and moreover we did not take our oath to Charles only, but also to the Empire. If, then, the Empire did not keep faith with us, he brought himself down to the level of a private individual, and could no longer be regarded as a true emperor, but rather as a breaker of the peace, because he was not an hereditary sovereign, but an elective one.' The Emperor had no authority in matters of religion; besides, he was acting like a partisan, for the Recess at Augsburg had not been agreed to by both parties. God had never forsaken His own people in the Old Testament; He had also helped the 'Bohemians (the Hussites) against the Emperor and the Empire, and had given them victory in their struggle.' 'God had likewise helped many nations and peoples against emperors and other rulers who had dealt unjustly by their subjects; it was well known, for instance, how a small handful of Swiss had overcome the lords of Austria and several emperors.'

At the Landgrave's request that he would 'address an exhortation to all true believers,' Luther wrote his warning to his beloved Germans against the Augsburg Recess and his 'Commentary on the Pretended Imperial Edict.'

'O that disgraceful Diet,' he said in the first of

these pamphlets, 'the like of which has never been held or heard of, and nevermore should be held or heard of, for it is an everlasting blot on all the princes and on the whole Empire, and is enough to make all us Germans blush crimson with shame before God and the whole world!' 'Who is there under the whole firmament who will henceforth fear us Germans, or expect anything honourable from us, when they hear that we suffer the accursed Pope with his masqueraders to treat us as monkeys, fools, children, yea as logs and he-goats?'

'The papists have no vestige of right on their side, either human or divine.' 'They act from the innate wickedness of their hearts against all justice, human and divine, just like murderers and criminals. This is easy to prove, for they know well themselves that our teaching is right, and yet they want to put a stop to it.' Luther foresaw war and tumult, but whatever happened his conscience 'was pure and guiltless and untroubled; that of the papists, on the contrary, guilty, anxious, and unclean.' 'So let us go forward cheerily and face the worst, whether war or tumult, according as God in His anger shall decree.' 'As for those who do not know what it is to fight with a bad conscience and a quaking heart, go to, let them try it now; if the papists go to war they will experience the same fate that befell our ancestors in a similar case when fighting against the Bohemians and Ziska.' This is my true and faithful advice, that if the Emperor should summon the country to arms, and should declare war on behalf of the Pope, or on account of our teaching, as the papists now boast that he will (though for my own part I do not expect it), that in such a case none ought to respond to the call, or think themselves bound to

obey the Emperor; but, on the contrary, they should feel certain that they are sternly forbidden by God to obey; and any who do yield obedience will be disobeying God Almighty, and imperilling their souls' salvation. For the Emperor's conduct would be in opposition not only to God and to divine right, but also to his own imperial right, oath, duty, seal, and contract.' Personally, however, the Emperor was exonerated from blame. Luther described him as an involuntary tool of rogues and villains. 'Therefore no one need wonder that commands or edicts, contrary to God and to justice, should be issued in the Emperor's name; he cannot help himself; indeed he knows well that all this is the work of the arch-rogue of the world, the Pope, who by means of his *Platterhengste* (stallions with shaven heads) and hypocrites is making arrangements for compassing the massacre and ruin of us Germans. Some will say that I have no arguments to offer, but only foul language. Is it foul language to call the devil a murderer and a liar, and are not the Pope-asses all devils incarnate, impenitent, hardened sinners, and wilful public blasphemers?'[1]

Equally virulent and passionate is Luther's language in the 'Glossen auf das vermeinte kaiserliche Edict' ('Comment on the so-called Imperial Edict'), which ended with the words: 'May that abomination, the papacy, be cast into the bottomless pit! as St. John says in the Apocalypse. Amen. Let all who would be called Christians say, Amen.'[2]

Luther declared that it would be his chief boast

[1] *Collected Works*, xxv. 1–50. See Luther's letter to the Elector John of Saxony, April 16, 1531. De Wette, iv. 248–241.

[2] *Ibid.* xxv. 51–88.

'that he had overflowed with cursing and bad language against the Pope.' 'For I cannot pray,' he said; 'I am constrained to curse.'[1]

By invitation of the Elector John of Saxony a meeting took place at Smalcald, at the end of December 1530, at which the Elector, the Landgrave Philip, Duke Ernest of Brunswick, Prince Wolfgang of Anhalt, the Counts of Mansfeld, and delegates from fifteen free towns were present. It was unanimously decided to petition the Emperor to grant the Protestants a reprieve from all procedure on the part of the exchequer or the Imperial Chamber, which was tantamount to procuring the Emperor's assurance that the Augsburg Recess should not be enforced against them. The confederates pledged themselves, in case of the imperial exchequer or the supreme court of justice instituting measures against them, 'to stand by each other with mutual help and counsel.' Besides which they agreed to support the Elector of Saxony's protest against Ferdinand's election, and to win over France and England to their side. The Elector of Saxony caused the towns of Zürich, Berne, and Basle to be invited to join the league, under the sole condition that they were to subscribe to the sacramental creed which had been presented by Strasburg to the Emperor at the Diet.[2]

[1] *Collected Works*, xxv. 107–108.

[2] See Lenz, *Philipp und Zwingli*, p. 430. Philip of Hesse wished to proceed forthwith to arms. The Saxon chancellor, Brück, writes Seckendorf, iii. 8, 'dissuadebat ante omnia, ne Elector Landgravio consentiret, qui nolebat aggressionem exspectare, sed copias extra provinciam educere, ut belli sumtus aliqua ex parte lucraretur.' At a subsequent meeting at Smalcald in March 1531, with a view to increased unity among the Protestant Estates, the Tetrapolitan confession was expressly acknowledged as in accordance with the word of God.

On February 27, 1531, a confederacy for mutual defence, for a term of six years, was formed between six princes, two counts, and eleven imperial cities. The terms of the compact were 'that whenever any of them were challenged, or subjected to a military attack, on account of the word of God, or any matters connected with the word of God, or under any other pretext, each one of the confederates was to act as if he himself had been wronged, and to lend all his help and power to succour the injured party.'[1]

The confederates in question were the Elector John of Saxony and his son Frederic; the Dukes Philip of Brunswick-Grubenhagen, Otto, Ernst, and Franz von Lüneburg; the Landgrave Philip of Hesse, Prince Wolfgang of Anhalt, the Counts Gebhard and Albrecht of Mansfeld, and the towns of Ulm, Constance, Reutlingen, Memmingen, Lindau, Biberach, Isny, Magdeburg, and Bremen.[2]

There was nothing in the character or contents of the charter of the Smalcald confederates to prevent the Swiss from joining the League; for the phrase 'the word of God,' the alleged attacks on which its members were pledged to resist by force, might be

[1] See Winckelmann's *Schmalk. Bund*, p. 92, where Ranke's opinion that the league was not concluded until the second meeting at Smalcald is shown to be erroneous. The mention of Lübeck in the treaty of February 27 was premature, as that city did not formally accede to the league until May 3, and even then in spite of the persistent opposition of the two Catholic burgomasters. See *Zeitschrift für lübeckische Geschichte*, 1894, vii. 23, note 1.

[2] The town of Nuremberg was more Lutheran than Luther himself, for it continued true to his doctrine of passive obedience even when the author of it had repudiated it. Since actual resistance to legitimate authority was not compatible with this doctrine, Nuremberg did not join the league of Smalcald. S. Ludewig, *Die Politik Nürnbergs im Zeitalter der Reformation*, pp. 1520-1534. Göttingen, 1893.

interpreted by each different Protestant sect according to individual taste. But the Swiss feared the overweening power of the princes.

'However much the princes may put on an appearance of favouring the Gospel,' wrote Zwingli to Sam at Ulm, 'they will draw back as soon as they perceive that our love of liberty interferes with their arbitrary wills.' The towns, Zwingli insisted, must unite together, and within the towns the common people must obtain mastery over the patricians. He hoped to make the Suabian towns Swiss. There was great danger, the envoy Cornelius Scepper informed the Emperor on June 3, 1531, that Ulm, Augsburg, and other towns would go over to the Swiss and separate themselves entirely from the Empire.[1]

In the Suabian towns Zwinglianism gained the upper hand, with the result of a violent and complete overthrow of the existing Church organisation.

At a Synod held at Memmingen in February 1531, at which the delegates of the town councils and the preachers of Ulm, Biberach, Isny, Memmingen, Lindau, and Constance were present, it was decided that uniformity in Christian 'ceremonies' was by no means essential; for 'the question of the Gospel had now become settled on both sides in such a manner that want of uniformity in ceremonies deterred nobody, and uniformity attracted nobody.'

Centuries ago Charlemagne, in order to please the Pope, 'had struggled fiercely and zealously for uniformity;' this line of action, however, had 'been very disastrous, and had become a snare to consciences.' Christ had only ordained two 'ceremonies,' Baptism

[1] Lanz, *Correspondenz*, i. 463.

and the Lord's Supper, and in these two, certainly, uniformity must be striven after. Baptism, said the town of Ulm, did not wash away original sin, but was 'only to be looked on as a form of admission into the Christian community; as regards infant baptism, it was not indeed enjoined by express command in the Scriptures, but the practice could be justified by analogy with the Old Testament rite of circumcision.' Nevertheless even this question might be left to individual opinion. 'By allowing freedom in this respect the reproaches of the Anabaptists would be robbed of their force, and their lips would be silenced.' The Anabaptists must not be indiscriminately subjected to violence; only such persons among them who disseminated error and stirred up riots were to be punished by banishment. This same rule ought also to hold good, 'as the Anabaptists rightly contended,' in dealing with the Papists.

With regard to the Lord's Supper, it was the opinion of the town councils (which had been 'purged from the pollution of their popish members') and of their preachers that this too was merely 'a ceremony;' but the disagreement between Lutherans and Zwinglians must be kept dark from the people. 'We must carefully conceal and stoutly deny,' said Martin Bucer in a letter to Ambrosius Blarer, preacher at Esslingen, 'that we disagree with Luther in any single point; the towns of Ulm, Constance, and Esslingen must, as far as possible, follow the lead of Strasburg, and publish abroad that they were in complete sympathy with Luther.'[1]

[1] . . . 'nihil videtur consultius fore, quam ut fortiter dissimulemus, nobis nondum per omnia convenire' (Keim, *Esslingen*, p. 117).

In the spirit of the 'pure Gospel' the people of Reutlingen had already, in February 1531, destroyed all their altars and images. Other towns followed this example. In April the council of Ulm summoned the preachers Bucer, Blarer, and Oecolampadius to undertake the work of 'reformation;' and the hope of the Ulm preacher, Conrad Sam, 'that there would soon be an end of Antichrist in the town,' became rapidly embodied in deeds of violence and destruction committed 'in the name of the holy word of God.' The costly, in many cases unequalled, church and art treasures of gold and silver had already been cleared away years before by order of the town council; and now, in mid June, to quote the words of a Protestant, 'the beautiful, exquisite cathedral building was sullied with a blot of shame so infamous that all eternity could never wipe it out.' All the altars, fifty in number, were destroyed; all the images thrown down and smashed in pieces; the statues of the apostles were dragged away, and the two splendid organs destroyed as 'works of the devil.' Much that could not be taken away was 'hacked, broken, and mutilated;' amongst other things, Meister Syrlin's carved work on the choir stalls and the ornaments on the church doors. 'The ruffians,' writes Leonard Wildmann, 'did not even spare the pictures of Christ. They destroyed the picture of the Saviour that stood under the tower, and painted in its place an Abraham with Isaac. And to prevent the parish church from ever again being used as a church they stowed away barrels of wine in it.'

All these barbarous atrocities were perpetrated by

order of the council and under the direction of the preachers.[1]

The religious dogmas of the council and the preachers were then set up as 'the unfalsified Gospel,' and 'everybody was commanded to accept them.'

Those of the clergy who held 'different opinions' were to be dismissed. 'Whereas there is but one Gospel,' argued the iconoclast reformers, 'we must finally make up our minds to proclaim it in one way only; and we must not hesitate to condemn even an angel from heaven who should teach opposite doctrine.' The people must even be forbidden to talk of any other religion than that now established.[2]

The Catholics of Ulm flocked in shoals to the monasteries and convents of Söflingen and Wiblingen, where the service of the Mass was still held, although pilgrimages had been forbidden by the town council, under pain of severe punishment.[3] The monks of Ulm remained true to their vows. Both the Dominicans and the Franciscans declared to the council that in all municipal and secular matters they were ready to obey the civil authorities as far as was legitimate, but that in affairs of conscience and the faith they were answerable only to God and to their superiors; they intended to abide by the Christian Church and the Augsburg Recess. All measures adopted for their 'conversion' were fruitless. Commissioners of the council

[1] See the letter of Oecolampadius and Capito to Zwingli, June 22 and July 4, 1531, in *Zwinglii Opp.* pp. 612-613, 618-619. 'Ulmae nihil non ex sententia cessit,' writes Capito; 'expurgata sunt omnino templa in urbe, in agro, quem amplum habent, et omni eorum ditione similiter missa missionem inhonestam accipiet.'

[2] Keim, *Ulm*, p. 242. The Council, however, would not agree to this demand of the preachers.

[3] *Ibid.* pp. 252-254.

forced their way, armed, into the Dominican monastery, 'took the keys of the monastery and the church by force from the brothers, seized all the property in the church—chalices, monstrances, vessels, chasubles—together with all the sealed documents; turned the poor old sick friars out of their infirmaries, and used threatening, abusive language to frighten them into giving up their religion and the Christian ordinances.' The whole body of Dominicans, 'fearing for their lives and persons,' went away into exile. The Franciscans also, in whose churches and monasteries scenes of violence similar to those in the cathedral were enacted, nearly all quitted the city.[1]

'In the year 1531,' says Christian Löschenbrand (an eye-witness of the religious revolution) in his chronicle of Ulm, 'all the idolatrous vessels and images were taken away from the parish church, together with fifty-two altars. Everybody went at it ardently. People thought if only they could get rid of the monks and nuns all would be set right. But when the town was cleared of them, and the preachers began to discourse of the love that we ought all to show to each other by help, counsel, and loans of money, then people began to look back at the past. As long as it was merely a question of turning monks and nuns out of their monasteries and convents, of restraining rents and taxes, and of depriving priests of their benefices, then the 'Gospel' was true and right for everybody, for the rich man would get the best of the bargain, because he could appropriate the tithes and revenues; but when it was preached to him that he must 'hand out again to the

[1] Keim, *Ulm*, pp. 258-262.

poor,' and share with them, lo! 'this was a hard saying: who could hear it?'

'The Lords and the civil magistrates,' so the preacher Conrad Sam complained two years after the 'work of reform' had been accomplished, 'think now of nothing whatever but luxury and pomp, gambling, gorging, carousing from one midnight to another; there is no pause or cessation. And the peasants and the common people do just the same; there is no loyalty, affection, or decency among them. They have made a covenant with death and with hell, and they say: "Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die, and the things the priests prate about won't happen to us." If we talk or preach to them of the judgment and wrath of God, they answer: "Ha, ha, my friend, tell your tales to the geese in the market; the devil is not so black as they paint him. Talk to us of peace, and of eating and drinking, and we'll listen to your preaching gladly."'

Overjoyed at the success of their work, and richly remunerated by the council, Bucer, Oecolampadius, and Blarer travelled from Ulm to Biberach in order, by invitation of the council, to destroy 'the Antichrist' in that place. On June 29, 1531, immediately after the ending of a sermon, the work of iconoclasm and plunder began in the church. 'Out of eighteen altars in the parish church only one was left standing, and the images on this one were broken up and the stones carried away. The organ was pulled down. Two statues of the Virgin were carried away, the head of one of them being knocked off. The treasures stolen out of the church were as follows: a silver casket in which there were a number of relics, two silver monstrances, the larger one of which had cost 400*l.*; five

silver crosses, one silver censer, sacrificial vessels of silver, gilt monstrances, precious stones, pearls, thirty-seven chalices, and a quantity of vestments. Numbers of books, eight of which had cost together the sum of 300*l.*, were cut up and torn to pieces. All the chancel windows were broken; four chapels were destroyed, amongst others the chapel of St. Wolfgang, one of the walls of which was painted with illustrations of the legend of this saint. The vault in the churchyard was turned into a brick-kiln. In a chapel in the churchyard thirty pictures representing the sufferings of Christ were destroyed, and in all the churches and chapels which were left standing numbers of pictures were effaced.[1]

'Idols and masses are done away with,' wrote Bucer in jubilant strain from Biberach on July 9. He was also able to rejoice with his associates over similar 'evangelical deeds' executed at Memmingen, Lindau, Esslingen, and Isny.

'Everywhere a lawless, dissolute spirit had taken possession of people, so that nothing was any longer sacred in their eyes. All that our ancestors had accomplished and instituted for the promotion of discipline and order, and love of the fine arts, and the encouragement of great and noble artists, to the glory of God and the blessed Virgin and the dear saints, and for the promotion of piety among the people—all this was swept away by a reckless horde of so-called 'reformers,' who pretended that all they did was for the sake of the Gospel and the furtherance of God's glory.'[2]

[1] *Curieuse Nachrichten*, p. 83.

[2] *Reformation zu Biberach*, pp. 129–131. The proceeds of the plunder sold by the Biberach magistrates amounted to 32,000 florins. The Mass having been suppressed in the town, the Catholics went secretly to Mass

Zwingli had already in 1527 pointed out to the council of Esslingen that the 'treasures of the Church' must be taken possession of for the benefit of the poor country people, and not left to the tender mercies of the priests and monks. 'There is so much property and money here that more than 100 times 100,000 florins might be realised.'[1] 'Just consider,' wrote Bucer to Ambrosius Blarer, whom the council of Esslingen had appointed to carry out the 'reformation,' 'as far as the bishopric of Constance extends, so far has God given over the land of Suabia to your apostleship.'

The council of Esslingen was as zealous as other 'magistracies filled with the light of the holy evangel' in the forcible suppression of the Catholic liturgy, in plundering churches and cloisters and destroying altars, images, choir stalls, &c.[2] They ordered all monks, on pain of being imprisoned in the tower, to renounce the habit of their order and to give up observing fasts. A burgher, who had had his child baptised at Oberesslingen according to the Catholic rites, was confined in the tower for eight days, and fined twenty gold florins.

Out of the twenty-three secular clergymen in the town eighteen declared that they meant 'to remain true to the holy Church and the old faith,' and they protested against the violence of the Protestants in a

at Warthausen; some even erected fowlers' huts in the neighbourhood, in which to wait unobserved for the service. The council took great trouble to gain over the nuns to the new religion and to induce them to quit their houses without being forced thereto; they had them all up before them, first in a body and then singly, and caused them to be admonished by the clergy; a dowry was promised to all who would marry. But all in vain. 'We are wedded to the Lord,' they said; 'it becometh us not to take a husband.' Thereupon their goods were confiscated, and, as they refused to renounce their Order and to listen to evangelical preachers, they were forced to leave the town (p. 29).

[1] *Zwinglii Opp.* 2c, 8. [2] Keim, p. 61.

written document. By far the greater number of the monks also refused to apostatise. In order to protect the preacher Ambrosius Blarer from the indignation of the people, the council was obliged to 'have him specially watched.' '*Meister* Ambrosius,' we read in a letter sent by the council to Heilbronn, 'can certainly not be conveyed with safety to Heilbronn, for even here in his own town he has to be carefully protected against those who are opposed to the word of God; how much greater danger there would be if he were to attempt the journey to Heilbronn!'

In the year 1532 'the idolaters,' to quote the words of a preacher, 'had been ousted from the council'—that is to say, the Catholic councillors had been removed—but devotion to the papacy was not so easily eliminated from the town. 'Since the Catholic religion is firmly rooted amongst us all here,' says a Church ordinance of 1534, 'we have hitherto (albeit we are by God's grace fully convinced that the preachers ordained by us preach God's word rightly and truly), we have hitherto had patience with the recusants;' now, however, 'for the avoidance of heinous blasphemy,' the matter must no longer be winked at. 'We are bound by the commandment of God,' argued the gentlemen of the council, 'not only to be fathers of our subjects in temporal rule, with respect to what concerns their persons and property, but also, and far more so, with respect to their souls; and it is therefore our duty to see that false doctrine be as much as possible extirpated, and everybody brought to acknowledge the truth.' Therefore all the citizens must attend the evangelical services and must send their children and their household servants to them, or otherwise they

would have to be coerced by the public officials; nobody, under pain of punishment, must dare, openly or secretly, to abuse or speak lightly of the preachers of God, the Gospel, and the regulations of the magistrates. Also any person would be punished who should wantonly, in opposition to the 'divine ordinance' of the council, 'be seen publicly keeping festival in the streets' on the Catholic festival days which had been abolished.

Seven years later the council acknowledged that 'it had been their daily experience that the rules of discipline and the Church regulations laid down in this town had been completely disregarded by all the inhabitants.' 'Church regulations and civil order,' said Blarer after another six years, 'exist in written words, but are ignored in deed and in fact; the temples of idols have been broken down, the "false worship" has been abolished, but God's honour and service are no longer cared for, and therefore we have reaped more of God's wrath than of His mercy and grace.'

At Isny, as early as the year 1527, the demagogue preachers and the populace had carried on, unchecked, a regular wild-beast chase against the Catholics, and in 1534, on the Sunday after St. Ulrich's Day, the Zwinglian preachers of this place instigated the storming of the Benedictine monastery. The populace, armed with axes, hammers, and other tools, broke into the church while divine service was going on and perpetrated the usual atrocities. The images were smashed up, the great crucifix thrown down, 'the Lord God torn in four pieces, and His head broken off, as if he had been quartered by the executioners.'[1]

[1] Scharff, pp. 59-61.

The confederates of the League of Smalcald had endeavoured, according to the resolutions framed at the end of December 1530, to draw the Kings of France and England into their confederacy. They reckoned on ready acquiescence at any rate from Henry VIII., who at the time was preparing to give deadly offence to the Emperor and the Catholic Church by his contemplated divorce from Catharine of Aragon, the Emperor's aunt, and his marriage with Anne Boleyn. But from the French King they had reason to expect practical help, because Francis I., in spite of his treaty with the Emperor, was eagerly seizing every opportunity for weakening the imperial power and causing a dismemberment of Germany.

While Luther had endeavoured to persuade the Elector of Saxony to take part in the coronation of Ferdinand, in order to prevent dissension in the Empire,[1] Melanchthon, by order of the Elector, was obliged to address a statement to the King of France to the effect that 'the Elector, for the welfare of the Empire and the preservation of its liberties, had entered a protest against Ferdinand's election; that he considered himself under great obligation to the King for the exceeding great kindness he had so often experienced at his hands, and that he should endeavour in every possible way to testify his gratitude towards him.'[2]

On the same day the Elector, the Landgrave Philip of Hesse, George of Brandenburg-Culmbach, Ernest of Brunswick, and the towns of Strasburg, Nuremberg, Ulm, and Magdeburg addressed a letter to the Kings of France and England, appealing from

[1] Letter of the Elector of Dec. 12, 1530, in De Wette, iv. 201–203.
[2] *Corp. Reform.* ii. 478–480.

the Augsburg Recess to a free general council, the convocation of which they petitioned these two monarchs to further.[1]

Their religious creed, they asserted, was in harmony with the 'Gospel and the Catholic Church.' It was a gross calumny to say that they had adopted this new religion in order to gain possession of ecclesiastical property. The Church possessions in their territories were of very trifling amount, and although it was essential that the revenues accruing from them should be spent on the needs of the different parishes they were quite willing to allow them to be used according to the decision of a general council for any pious purposes whatever.[1] In private letters to friends Melanchthon expressed the fear that war would be declared in the summer, and that 'it would not be so much a contest in the cause of Christ as an outlet for the cupidity of certain persons.'[2]

On April 21 and May 3 respectively the Kings of France and England sent in affirmative answers to the confederates of Smalcald. Both monarchs promised not only their support in furthering the calling of a Council, but additional services also. From time immemorial, said Francis I., German princes and subjects

[1] *Corp. Reform.* ii. 472–477. The passage relating to Church property runs as follows: 'Et quamquam bona illa ecclesiastica apud nos, *cum quidem vix mediocria* sint' (the cry on other occasions was that the possessions of the Church were so exorbitant as to swallow up everything), 'videantur parochiis nostris necessaria fore, quae per incorporationes arrosae et compilatae sunt, tamen non recusamus eo in quoscunque pios usus conferre, in quos auctoritate concilii collocata fuerint.' Concerning the bishops they write: 'De ecclesiasticis praelatis etiam testatur confessio nostra, quod *potestatem clavium* et ministerium verbi religiose veneremur, quodque etiam canonicam politiam ecclesiastici status probemus.'

[2] To Baumgartner, *Corp. Reform.* ii. 492.

had found refuge in France. He sent forthwith a confidential envoy, Gervasius Vain, a German by birth, to Saxony to inform himself more closely concerning the attitude and strength of the league, and, through his ambassador, Guillaume du Bellay, he promised the allies active help for 'the defence of German freedom' against the Emperor. England also, this ambassador encouraged them to hope, would readily contribute to the war expenses. The King would also bestow his protection on Duke Ulrich of Würtemberg.[1]

Philip of Hesse's long-hoped-for campaign in the cause of Ulrich of Würtemberg was now indeed to commence, 'as soon as the flowers began to bloom.' Philip went on uninterruptedly with preparations and plans. He was disappointed in his expectations from Duke Henry of Brunswick, who at the last moment backed out of his agreement to put an army in the field for Ulrich, and refused to do more than contribute 12,000 gold florins towards the equipment. But Philip had hopes of help from other quarters, and first and foremost from the Swiss.[2]

Already in January 1531 it was said in Switzerland that 'Ulrich was receiving a great deal of money from the French King, and that there was no more

[1] *Mémoires de G. du Bellay-Langey*, ii. 190–191, 196–197. '... que quoique *le Roi d'Angleterre* ne se fût pas encore décidé sur le parti qu'il prendrait au sujet de la Ligue de Smalcalde, l'on pouvoit cependant espérer qu'il contribueroit volontiers *aux frais de la guerre*, et que quand même ce prince ne seroit pas dans ces dispositions ils pouvoient hardiment compter sur le secours de la France, toujours prête à les assister, toutes les fois qu'il prendroit envie à l'empereur de violer les droits du corps germanique.' Concerning Gervasius Vain from Memmingen see Schelhorn, *Ergötzlichkeiten*, i. 270–274.

[2] Philip's letter to Zwingli, January 25, 1531. *Zwinglii Opp.* viii. 575.

useful man than Ulrich for the purposes of Francis I. and the confederates.' At Hilzingen, on the Hohentwiel, all sorts of people eager for the fray were gathering together, among them many of those who had received money bribes from Ulrich; and among the peasants of the Hegau the spirit of revolution was again astir; former leaders of revolt, among others 'the bandit' Bengle, came to the front. On January 14, 1531, Johannes von Fuchstein, Ulrich's councillor and servitor, at the head of a body of Swiss troops, surprised the castle of Staufen, belonging to an Austrian feudatory. In the middle of April an attack on the Hohenasperg was attempted, at the joint instigation of Philip and Ulrich; it was frustrated, however, by the vigilance of the Stattholder.

In order to win over the Elector of Saxony to the war the Landgrave represented to him, in the spring, that the reinstatement of Duke Ulrich would give additional security to the Protestants; that it would encourage the towns to lend their help in resistance to Ferdinand's election, and in other matters; that numbers of efficient fighting men could be obtained from Würtemberg; that the Swiss were already being secured by Ulrich; that the Emperor's fears with regard to Turkey ought to be turned to account. The Landgrave only asked that the Elector would place 1,000 cavalry at his disposal and protect Hesse during the campaign, and he (Philip) would then carry out the undertaking with 10,000 infantry and 2,000 cavalry troops.

But the Elector John was not so unscrupulous as to think of utilising the Turkish danger against the House of Austria. He did not consider such a course Chris-

tian, he said to his Hessian allies on April 24, 1531; the league of the Princes was only a defensive alliance, besides which the Landgrave, by his political alliance, had connected himself too closely with the Swiss, with whom, on account of their errors concerning the Sacrament of the Altar, no concord as yet existed.

But it was precisely this concord with Switzerland that Philip had had in view. He had instructed his delegates to an assembly of the Smalcald Leaguers at Frankfort in the month of June to do all in their power and to promise anything and everything in order to bring the Federal States into the League, even if the Elector of Saxony were opposed to this policy; for if the other members of the League showed themselves in favour of an agreement with the Federal States the Elector 'would at last be obliged to give in.' Further, the towns belonging to the League were to be specially canvassed with a view to preventing their allegiance to King Ferdinand. In order to prevent the 'evangelicals' from being suddenly attacked and sustaining disaster, Philip declared to Duke Ernest of Lüneburg on July 6 it was advisable to proceed forthwith to action, and 'to make an end of the business.'[1]

The Landgrave all the time knew that the current reports of the Emperor's warlike preparations against the Protestants were baseless.[2] From King Ferdinand also there was nothing to be feared. 'We here,' wrote Luther to Gerbellius at Strasburg in June 1531, 'are

[1] Rommel, ii. 271.

[2] On July 4, 1531, Capito wrote from Strasburg to Zwingli: 'Ante hos menses rumor fuit exercitus ingentis a Caesare conscripti. Non putavit rem negligendam senatus. Sciscitatur Cattum [Philip of Hesse], qui consiliorum istorum arcana explorata prope habet. Sed is reperit omnia satis tuta.' *Zwinglii Opp.* viii. 617.

quite convinced that Ferdinand will not carry war into Hesse, but that, on the contrary, he is afraid of Hesse, and that Ferdinand can do nothing.'[1] Philip, on the other hand, was able at the end of July to send news to a friend of the prospect of substantial assistance: 'We will not withhold from you the fact that an excellent and powerful monarch, and other influential people, have exerted themselves to enlist soldiers for us, which means that they intend to come over to our side and to our opinions.' On June 24 King Frederick of Denmark had announced that he was willing to conclude a treaty, 'in temporal matters,' with Philip, the Elector of Saxony, and the Duke of Lüneburg.'[2]

These treacherous proceedings, in which Bavaria also was implicated, were not unknown at the imperial court at Brussels. The Emperor, accordingly, in order to avert war in the interior of his empire, and to obtain supplies against the advance of the Turks, made one more attempt to 'effect a reconciliation in matters of religion.' On July 8, 1531, he ordered the public prosecutor not to institute any process based on the religious article of the Augsburg Recess until the next Diet. On July 10 he sent the Counts William of Nassau and William of Neuenar to the Elector of Saxony with instructions to submit the following statement to him: 'With regard to all the essential points and articles of the Christian faith, such as the Holy Sacrament and other matters, the Emperor could not consent to any transactions being carried on in a spirit of opposition. As for those points which had been

[1] De Wette, iv. 272.

[2] A writing of Frederick of Denmark, dated June 24, 1531, in Neudecker, *Urkunden*, pp. 176–178.

established by the ordinance of the Church, the Emperor desired to exhort the Protestants that, out of respect for their consciences and their honour, and in view of the offences resulting from the innovations, they would consent to return to the obedience of the Church. He also begged that the Protestants 'would abstain from applying the ecclesiastical revenues and property to their own particular uses, and would, on the contrary, see to it that all confiscated foundations and endowments were restored to the original purposes for which they were intended, whether for the service of God, for the maintenance of the clergy, for almsgiving, or for charitable works, because the confiscation and detention of such institutions and moneys could neither be tolerated nor justified on any grounds of right.' The Emperor hoped, he said in his instructions, that these envoys and the Electors of Mayence and of the Palatinate, who had offered themselves as mediators, would succeed in obtaining from the Protestants more than the latter had hitherto been willing to concede. The envoys might hold out to them 'good hopes' that at the next Diet it would be settled that 'all procedure against them would, for the sake of peace, be postponed till the coming General Council.' As for the particular articles which they would not accept, 'those who would not change their minds and become reconciled to the Holy Church' must be emphatically enjoined not to endeavour to take over the Catholics and lead them into their errors,' also that 'in their territories, towns, and boroughs they are to treat with toleration all persons conforming to the ancient ordinances of the Church.'

The Emperor, according to these statements, was

willing to grant toleration to the Protestants, but he asked in return toleration from them for the Catholic faith.

The Zwinglians and Anabaptists, on the other hand, the Emperor would in no wise suffer in the Empire; 'for the extirpation of their damnable heresies' he wished the Lutherans to join hand in hand with the Catholics.

In all matters relating to the welfare of the realm and resistance to the Turks, the Protestants were required to remain at unity with the rest of the Empire, and to render obedience to the Emperor and Ferdinand, and to recognise the latter's election. The Emperor, on the other hand, promised that the said election should never in any way be prejudicial to the Elector of Saxony's privileges or to his electoral title; he would invest the Elector with his fiefs and prerogatives, and in any special favours that he might have to ask he should find the Emperor a kind and gracious sovereign.[1]

But the Elector of Saxony was not disposed to agree to the Emperor's terms.[2] Nor did the negotiations of the Archbishop of Mayence and the Palatine Elector with the Protestant Estates at a meeting held in Smalcald towards the end of August lead to any result.[3] Least of all was Philip of Hesse inclined to let slip from his hands the advantages which the present position of affairs, the Turkish danger especially, seemed to hold out for the fulfilment of his military plans. He had done quite right, so the Marburg Stattholder, Adolf

[1] 'Die Instruction bei Lanz,' *Correspondenz*, i. 512–516.

[2] Report of the Counts of Nassau and Neuenar, September 1, 1531. Lanz, *Correspondenz*, i. 523–528.

[3] Report of the Electors of Mayence and the Palatinate, September 7, 1531. Lanz, i. 530–533.

Rau, and the Chancellor Johann Feige had assured him, on his soliciting their opinion, in putting off the transactions, in order that later on they might get what they wished from the Emperor. The Emperor, they said, was exerting himself with the utmost diligence 'to settle the affairs of the German nation;' he was trying to see 'whether, between now and the spring, he could not rectify the errors of the German nation and oppose adequate resistance to the Turks.' He had said that if they would recognise Ferdinand as king they would receive in return permission 'for the evangelicals to continue in their opinions' and security for the members of each party, with their subjects, to live peaceably side by side.

The Emperor fancied that in this way 'he would further his own interests,' because if on all sides peace and security were guaranteed, the league of Smalcald would no longer be necessary, and would dissolve itself. The evangelical cause, however, would not be satisfactorily served in this manner. For the position taken up by the evangelicals was that no accommodation or truce could be even thought of unless the Emperor, the King, and others consented to allow the Gospel free course, not only in the territories of the Protestants, but 'also in their own Catholic dominions.' This was the aim on which the whole energies of the Protestants were bent. If the negotiations were indefinitely postponed, there was the hope that the Turkish danger would in the end drive the Emperor to meet the Protestants on their own terms. If this should not come about, and the Emperor and Ferdinand should perchance attempt to come to terms with the Turks, 'neither of them would gain much; they would

cover themselves with shame and disgrace, and still find themselves as little as before at peace with the evangelicals.' The Elector of Saxony was on the right road. In the matter of Ferdinand's election he had taken such a strongly antagonistic line that it would be disgraceful for him to change his policy, as indeed was sufficiently shown by his answer to the French ambassador.[1]

While the peace negotiations had been going on between the Emperor and the Protestants, the Landgrave, in August 1531, had made a fresh appeal to the French king, through the council of Zürich, begging him to help Duke Ulrich of Würtemberg to recover his territory, and representing to Francis I. that such a course would contribute materially to the annoyance of his Royal Majesty's antagonists, the Emperor Charles and King Ferdinand. On September 30 Philip wrote to Zwingli: 'In a short time we shall have tidings to send you which you will rejoice to hear, and which will be very unwelcome to the people with whom you are at enmity; for the present, however, we will not trust these things to paper.'[2]

The war planned by Philip, however, did not come to maturity. A few days after this letter was written events in Switzerland took a sudden turn, which was 'extremely unpleasant and unfavourable' to the Landgrave.

[1] *Rathschlag* of August 4, 1531, in Neudecker, *Actenstücke*, pp. 60–63.
[2] *Zwinglii Opp.* viii. 647.

CHAPTER II

ZWINGLIANISM DEFEATED IN SWITZERLAND

After the establishment of Zwinglianism as the sole recognised State religion in the Suabian towns Zwingli expected that the union of these towns with the confederacy, and their separation at the same time from the Empire, would soon follow. He was encouraged by Capito[1] to hope for the entry of the town of Ulm into the league of coburghership, by Martin Bucer for the accession of Augsburg and Kempten.[2]

In order to facilitate the accomplishment of this union the Catholic religion was to be completely stamped out through the length and breadth of Switzerland. While Zwingli himself was continually conspiring with foreign countries he found fault with the Catholic cantons for their 'perpetual intrigues with foreign princes;' and while himself indulging profusely in abuse of the Catholic 'idolatry' and 'worship of Baal' he made it a matter of complaint against the Catholics that calumnies and invectives had been uttered against the Zwinglians by individuals in the original cantons, and that these offences had not been punished by the civil magistrates according to the regulations of the Landfriede.

[1] *Zwinglii Opp.* viii. 624.

[2] *Ibid.* viii. 646.

The council of Zürich adopted such violent measures against the Catholic districts that even Berne and the other cities of the league protested repeatedly and declared publicly that the procedure of Zürich was not in accordance with the treaty of Cappel.

In a memorial drawn up by the Catholics for the Diet summoned to meet at Baden on January 8, 1531, complaints were made against the encroachments of Zürich, which town, said the petitioners, recognised no rights, and would not submit to the decision of the majority. 'Of this,' so ran the memorial, 'we do most grievously complain, that in our confederacy it has come about that no one place can obtain justice and redress against another; and with the new-fangled juridical methods our treaties, and the Landfriede, are so twisted and explained away that no one is bound to grant us justice, and the treaties and the Landfriede have no longer any power to afford us security or protection. Against such juridical quibbles and arbitrary interpretations your forefathers and the pious old confederates were protected by mutual treaties, and things were altogether much better in those days than they are now.'

It was necessary, said Zwingli on April 20, 1531, to proceed against the Catholic districts 'with drastic remedial measures,' potent enough to secure the establishment of God's word and the abolition of tyranny and insensate teaching. Whereas the Catholic districts, said the council of Zürich, were filled with 'a godless, reprobate race,' 'God would surely not tolerate' that peace should be concluded with them, unless they consented to allow the 'word of God' to be proclaimed openly and without fear of punishment. But since

these districts evinced so great a spirit of obstinacy, and 'would not alter their ways, nor give themselves up to God, nor hear His word, but, on the contrary, continued to persecute it,' it behoved the Protestants to exterminate them by force of arms. Landfriede and inherited customs went for nothing, Zwingli declared in a secret memorandum, in which he expressed himself in language almost similar to that formerly used by Thomas Münzer, 'for all laws, privileges, and authority, whether temporal or spiritual, which were abused deserved to be abolished.' So God had punished the people of Israel till at last He had rooted them out, although He had made an everlasting covenant with them. He had also given the command, 'Destroy the wicked from among you.'[1]

On August 31, 1531, the Catholic districts, where all supplies of provisions had been cut off by the Zwinglians, made a futile appeal to the Emperor and King Ferdinand for help. 'Since Holy Whitsuntide,' they complained, 'they have deprived us of everything necessary for subsistence; they have cut off all commerce and merchandise from us, and they will not allow a pennyworth of goods to approach us. And all this is done on account of our faith. For if they had had any other grievances against us they would have sought redress by legal process, as we have repeatedly admonished them to do, and now once more admonish them; nor would they have leaned so stiffly on the stipulation that we should permit "God's word" to be preached freely and with impunity in our territories.'[2]

[1] 'Geheime Rathschläge gegen die fünf Orte,' *Zwinglii Opp.* ii. 101–105.

[2] *Eidgenössische Abschiede*, 4, Abth. 1ᵇ. 1127. See Rohrer, 33.

Neither Ferdinand nor the Emperor, however, responded to the appeal, and for the safety of their religion, their liberty, and even their existence the Catholic cantons were compelled to go to war.

On October 11, 1531, was fought the battle of Cappel, in which the men of Zürich were defeated with great loss. It was 'a most bloody fight.' The Zürichers called the Catholics eaters of idols, godless baptists, idolaters, papists, peasant clouts, and other bad names. The Catholics in return called the Zürichers villainous arch-heretics and chalice-stealers, so that on both sides there was great raging and swearing of one against the other.[1] Many of the leading men of Zürich were left dead upon the battle-field, among them twenty-six members of the greater and lesser councils, and seven preachers. Zwingli himself, who had fought as one of the leaders in the battle, was among the slain. The adherents of the old faith rejoiced with 'great thanksgiving to God' that the true cause, origin, and initiation of all the evil, misery, and anxiety now lay weltering in his own villainous blood. His body was quartered and afterwards burnt as a fit settlement of the balance of his life.[2]

Luther was pleased to see in this victory of the Catholics a judgment of Almighty God. Zwingli, he wrote, 'had died in the midst of great and many sins and blasphemies;' in his last pamphlet he had shown himself to be not only an enemy of the Sacrament, but an out-and-out pagan.[3] The consternation in Zürich

[1] Küffenberg's *Chronik*, in the Archives for the History of the Swiss Reformation, iii. 451.

[2] Salut's *Chronik*, *ibid.* i. 310.

[3] *Collected Works*, xxxii. 399, 410. See Erichson's *Zwingli's Tod und dessen Beurtheilung durch Zeitgenossen.*

was immense. The report of the battle sent off to Basle on the night after the disastrous day was so inaccurate and incomplete as to leave unmentioned the loss of the greater part of the Zürich artillery, the enormous number of the slain, and even the death of Zwingli.[1]

The Catholic rejoicings over the victory of the original cantons were universal. King Ferdinand spoke of it in a letter to the Emperor as the first auspicious event in favour of the Catholic creed and the Church.[2] And, as further news of successful encounters came pouring in, he urged repeatedly on the Emperor that 'he would do well, as guardian of Christendom and for the sake of the Church, to help the old Cantons in their campaign; he would never have a better opportunity for gaining glory and renown, or for furthering the interests of the Austrian and Burgundian House; Switzerland was the head and the great stronghold of the sects in Germany, without which they would be weak and powerless; the conquest of Switzerland was the way to restore religious concord in Germany and become master of the land.[3]

The Emperor was not altogether disinclined to respond to his brother's suggestion of supporting the Swiss, but he considered it dangerous policy to range himself personally on their side. Such a step might, he feared, not only hinder the peace negotiations with the Protestant Estates, but also kindle a war in Germany, in which France and England would undoubtedly take

[1] Escher, *Glaubenspartęien*, p. 274.

[2] Lanz, *Correspondenz*, i. 553.

[3] Letters dated October 24 and from November 1 to 8, 1531, in Lanz, *Correspondenz*, i. pp. 565, 574, 582, 586.

part, and which might lead to a general European conflagration. He therefore contented himself with appealing to the Pope to render them assistance.[1]

Pope Clement VII. wished for peace, and hoped to succeed by gentle measures in winning back the seceders from the faith to reunion with the Church. He had repeatedly warned the old cantons, if possible, not to allow affairs to proceed to the extremity of war. Now, after their victories, wrote Garcia de Loaysa, Bishop of Osma, to the Emperor, on October 24, 'his Holiness still persists in urging them to draw back and not to proceed any further.' If, however, the other Cantons should undertake to revenge themselves, 'then, so it seems to his Holiness, the Catholic cantons ought to be helped.' On December 10 the Pope congratulated the cantons on having concluded peace with Zürich, and expressed his hope that the dissentients would return to the unity of the Church.

According to the terms of this treaty of peace Zürich renounced its 'Christian coburghership' both with Swiss and with foreign towns, promised compensation for the damages to Church property, recognised the rights of the Catholic cantons in those territories which were common property, and pledged themselves 'henceforth no longer to molest their dear and loyal fellow-confederates of the five cantons, nor their dear fellow-citizens and compatriots of Valais, on account of their religion, but now and for ever to leave them wholly undisturbed and unmolested in their own towns, countries, districts, and lordships.' In return the Zürichers and their co-religionists were to be left free to practise

[1] Lanz, *Correspondenz*, pp. 563, 571, 575, 585, 588. See also Lanz, *Staatspapiere*, pp. 73–78.

their religion. Peace was also concluded with Berne, practically on the same conditions.

After the defeat of Cappel, Zwingli and his followers became objects of imprecation in Zürich.

'The Zürichers need only an opportunity to determine them on returning to the old Church,' wrote the preacher Myconius; 'they still fear the populace a little, but the council is won.' In a memorandum addressed to the council the shortcomings of the preachers were enumerated by one of the new religionists, who, among other things, declared it to be 'nothing but a lie to call these bishops and prophets shepherds. St. Paul teaches with works as well as with words, and the apostles were certainly not exalted above other people by the extent of their revenues. Wherever they went their first thought was to establish peace and to put down tumults . . . they did not at once begin talking of salaries and costly houses; they did not range themselves in parties; they did not attach to themselves lying, insurrectionary mobs; they did not aspire to be the privy councillors of great lords, or to have the right of appointing and deposing town councillors at their own pleasure. These present preachers of the Gospel, however, have arrogated to themselves authority to dispose of all clerical benefices at their own discretion. The courts of justice, the seats on council boards—in short, all the best offices in the land—are filled from the ranks of their party.'[1] 'I apprehend that we have accepted the Gospel of Christ with an avaricious eye set on sacred things, cloisters and other valuables.'

In an agreement made with the canton of Zürich the town council promised, among other things, that

[1] Mörikoser's *Ulrich Zwingli nach den urkundlichen Quellen*, ii. 452.

for the future they would have nothing more to do with 'secret councils' or with refugee priests, insurrectionary agitators, and Suabians. In future the preachers should not be allowed to stigmatise any persons as godless and wicked, or to load them with other scandalous terms of abuse.

'By the judgment of God Almighty, and for the special punishment of our sins,' the council admitted, 'we have been led into a serious and ruinous war, and disastrous uprising against our confederates in the five districts, which uprising has been in no slight measure due to certain arrogant, turbulent, rebellious people, both lay and clerical, who would never conform to the treaty concluded at Cappel.'[1]

The people of Zürich were still disposed to remain true to the 'Gospel,' but 'the fruits of the holy evangel were so bitter to the taste that it was enough to make one shudder.'[2]

A synod which met at Zürich in October 1532 addressed a petition to 'the gracious gentlemen of the council,' imploring them in God's name to make provision for having the disciplinary regulations of the

[1] Mörikoser, ii. 454-457.

[2] The rapidity with which corruption of morals and downright barbarism had increased from year to year is shown by the penal ordinances of the town council from 1527 to 1531—for example, an ordinance against young fellows who appeared 'stark naked' at fairs and weddings; against 'the frequent, wicked, shameful murders' in country and city; against the growing vice of blasphemy; against shameless throwing at the dances; against the 'horrible' custom of men scratching their faces. See Egli, *Actensammlung*, Nos. 1309, 1609, 1656, 1782, 2005. The worst of it was, wrote H. Wolff to Zwingli on August 5, 1530, 'that the youth are being badly and shamefully brought up. In short, all the vices are in full bloom.' A Zürich Synod of September 11, 1529, complains of the excessive drinking and the 'daily increasing number of disreputable resorts.' Egli, Nos. 1595, 1604.

town strictly enforced, 'so that vice might not gain the upper hand.' 'For,' said the petitioners, 'if drinking, gorging, gambling, extravagance in dress, and all kinds of luxury go on increasing and are not put down, it is to be feared that we shall soon present the appearance of a pauper community that has squandered all its possessions and cannot pay a farthing of what it owes; and that there will be nothing but cheating and brawling all over the land.' The preachers by their dissolute lives had brought themselves into utter contempt, the petition went on to say. Grave dishonour was cast on preaching, and it was an offence and a scandal against the Church of God when the pastors indulged in excess of eating and drinking, in luxury and debauchery, and betrayed their wantonness of spirit by their unsuitable attire, by carrying military arms, and by other signs of indecorum in their outward demeanour. Dire necessity had forced the synod to exhort the guilty parties to refrain from such excesses; in sermons it should be allowed to use any strong language against abuses, superstition, sin, and vice, but ridiculous bespattering, dirt-throwing, scolding, and jesting should be avoided.

In the following year the preachers were enjoined 'to abstain from all showy apparel, to wear no green, yellow, or red colours, and to give up carrying swords;' for 'the business of a preacher is not to fight, swagger, hack, and stab, but to show friendliness and forgiveness.'

The Catholic cantons gave proof of great moderation in their use of this victory, for they did not insist that the Protestant cantons which had laid the Catholic confession under ban, and had forbidden the exercise thereof under heavy penalties, should grant religious

freedom to the opposite party; and they refrained altogether from interference with the internal affairs of these cantons.

Luther animadverted on this moderation of the Catholics. 'It is true,' he wrote, 'that the victory of the Swiss over the Zwinglians has not been of much profit, for they have left the Zwinglian faith, as they call it, unimpeached, and have in no way condemned these errors, but have allowed them to go on side by side with their so-called ancient, unquestionable doctrine, and by this behaviour they have greatly strengthened and encouraged the Sacramentarians.'[1]

But in Germany, at any rate, the victory of Cappel had no such consequences. After the defeat of Zwinglianism in Switzerland all question of the Suabian free cities joining the Swiss confederacy was at an end. Deprived thus of their backing, the towns of South Germany joined the league of Smalcald, and were obliged, at an assembly at Frankfort in December 1531, to agree to the terms of the Princes respecting the organisation of this league.[2]

Alliance of any sort with Switzerland was now out of the question.

The Smalcald league of Princes increased in strength from year to year. Philip of Hesse became the soul of the confederacy. In November 1531 he had already been assured by the Saxon Elector that he would never withdraw his protest against Ferdinand's election, and that he would not contribute any Turkish aid until the Emperor had guaranteed 'satisfactory' terms of peace. In a treaty concluded on February 22, 1532, with

[1] De Wette, p. 349.

[2] Lenz, *Philipp und Zwingli*, pp. 454–457.

King Frederic of Denmark the Elector and the Landgrave were promised a contingent of 200 cavalry and 1,000 infantry in case of their being treated in a hostile manner on account of their opposition to Ferdinand.[1]

The Protestant Estates, indeed, gained 'ever increasing support among foreign potentates against the Emperor and Ferdinand,' a consummation due mainly to the exertions of Philip of Hesse. 'The Turks and Zapolya of Hungary, the cringing slave of the Sultan,' says a contemporary writer, 'rendered good service in this respect, and that not without great encouragement from the Catholic Dukes of Bavaria, who actually, at public provincial diets, spoke exultingly of their alliance with Lutherans and Turks against the House of Austria.'

[1] G. Waitz, *Lübeck unter Jurgen Wullenwęber und die europäische Politik*, pp. 327–330. The Princes promised King Frederic the same amount of help in case of his being attacked by the banished King Christian or anybody else.

CHAPTER III

ALLIANCES OF GERMAN PRINCES WITH FOREIGN LANDS—IRRUPTION OF THE TURKS, 1532

SULTAN Solyman, after his withdrawal from Germany, had bestowed the crown of Hungary on the Voyvode Zapolya, and 'as King of Kings and distributor of crowns' had solemnly sworn that he would help him, his tributary, in every danger and against all attacks, even at the risk of ruin to his entire dominion. 'Zapolya is not King of Hungary,' said the Grand Vizier Ibrahim to King Ferdinand's ambassadors, 'but only the servant of the Sultan, who gives him money and people, as much as he needs, for the maintenance of the land.' 'When our sovereign came to Hungary,' wrote Ibrahim to Ferdinand on November 17, 1530, 'Zapolya prostrated himself on the ground before him and pledged himself in servitude to him: he is only a slave of the Sultan's.' [1] 'Hungary belongs to me,' the Sultan boasted on the same day in a letter to Ferdinand, 'for I have conquered it with the sword; to me also belong by right the lands which you hold in Germany, for I have visited them in person, and my countenance has gazed upon them; for I am a just man and I cannot endure to suffer injustice.'

[1] '. . . procidens in faciem suam coram Cesare et humiliando se obtulerit Cesari et servituti ejus . . . deinde recenset se esse mancipium Cesaris.'

Solyman went on uninterruptedly with preparations for a fresh campaign against Germany. 'The Sultan will set out with gigantic forces,' wrote Louis Gritti, the Governor of Hungary, to King Sigmund of Poland in December 1530, 'and he will not return to Constantinople until he has devastated the whole of Germany with fire and sword, and made himself master of Italy.' The only chance of peace lay in Ferdinand's renouncing the whole of Hungary, which the Sultan had won by right of war and had handed over to Zapolya. Ferdinand exhorted the Emperor most urgently to make every effort to snatch Hungary from the Turks; otherwise Germany and the whole of Europe would lie open to them At the same time he expected himself to bring about an armistice with Solyman, and, by an agreement with Zapolya, to draw the latter away from the Turks.[1]

Meanwhile the Protestants, by the help of their League of Smalcald, were establishing themselves as a counter-force in the Empire, and on April 4 they definitely refused to give any help against the Turks until the proceedings of the Imperial Chamber against themselves should have been suspended.[2]

Bavaria also was reckoning on the Turkish danger for 'crushing and humbling' the Emperor and Ferdinand. The Chancellor Eck still hoped, as in the year 1527, for the 'expulsion of Ferdinand from his German dominions.'[3]

Already in January 1530 Eck had given the Voyvode detailed instructions as to ways and means of opposing Ferdinand in his struggle for the crown

[1] Bucholtz, iv. 58 ff. [2] Bucholtz, ix. 19–20.
[3] See above, p. 21.

of Hungary, and of securing himself against an inroad of the German nation. He had told him that without delay he must intimate to the German notables, who would shortly assemble together at a Diet, that he held Hungary in his own hands; that there was no great danger to be feared from the Turks; that it was not he who had before incited the Sultan to war, but that Solyman, provoked and embittered by Ferdinand, had set out with his army and had handed over the Hungarian kingdom unconditionally to him, Zapolya, a proceeding which might prove of the greatest benefit to Christendom. Zapolya received similar advice from the Bavarian Dukes, although it was not unknown at the Bavarian Court that the facts relating to the Turks were not in accordance were these statements. For in the following year the Dukes represented to Zapolya that it was not 'wise or politic' for him 'to stir up the Turks against the German nation, as he had been doing,' for by such conduct he was making himself 'an object of hatred to the whole nation.'[1]

At the end of January 1531 the Dukes received, through their ambassador Michael Kresdorfer, the news that Zapolya was making vigorous efforts to limit the invasion of the Turks to Ferdinand's territory, and to induce them to spare the dominions of the German Princes. Zapolya's confidential agent, Nickel von Minckwitz, by whom this intelligence had been communicated to the Bavarian envoy, caused the Dukes to be asked if they would not be willing, 'in conjunction with other trusty princes,' to enter into an agreement

[1] 'Instruction der Herzoge von Bayern' (drafted in Eck's handwriting). Muffat, *Correspondenzen und Actenstücke zur Geschichte der politischen Verhältnisse der Herzoge Wilhelm und Ludwig von Bayern*, &c., pp. 84–88

with Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia for the purpose of driving Ferdinand out of these lands, and 'by the help of the Turks' setting up another king there; it would be easy for the Dukes to come to terms with the Turks, for the great object of the latter was 'to punish Ferdinand's arrogance.'[1] The Dukes responded to the suggestion by entering into negotiations with Minckwitz.[2] On the Voyvode's expressing the wish that Bavaria would look on quietly[3] at any military undertaking for the restoration of Duke Ulrich of Würtemberg he was answered as follows: 'The Dukes are heartily willing to be of service to him and to do all in their power for the preservation of German liberty; with Ulrich they were already in friendly negotiation: Ferdinand would meet with no obedience from the Bavarian brothers.'[4]

The object proposed was to drive Ferdinand not only out of Hungary, but also out of Bohemia and Würtemberg, and if necessary to make use of Turkish help for the purpose.

Towards the end of the year 1531 negotiations were carried on between the Dukes and Zapolya with a view

[1] Letter of January 31, 1531, Muffat, pp. 112–115.

[2] Muffat, pp. 116–121, on January 10, 1531. L. Gritti accredited N. von Minckwitz to the Dukes to inform them of Solyman's intentions. Muffat, pp. 94–95. On July 1, 1531, Zapolya instructed Minckwitz to form alliances with France, Saxony, and Hesse, and to keep an eye upon an alliance with Turkey (Falke, *Minckwitz*, p. 412). On September 24, 1531, Minckwitz asked Chancellor Eck for a secret interview, remarking that he had already communicated the Turkish business to Saxony and Hesse. Muffat, p. 130.

[3] Hieronymus Lasky to the Bavarian Secretary Weissenfelder, June 16, 1531, Muffat, p. 123.

[4] Weissenfelder to Lasky, August 3, 1531. Muffat, pp. 125–127. 'Volo non latere magnificentiam vestram, principes iam esse cum praefato duce [Ulrich] in tractatu concordie.'

to concluding a treaty for mutual assistance in the event of war with the Emperor or with Ferdinand. Zapolya undertook to invade Austria and to prevail on the Sultan to overrun Carinthia and Croatia with an army. 'Half of whatever land the Turks conquered should be made over to the Dukes; in case of the Turks invading Germany the Dukes would receive a guarantee that their troops should not come within three miles of Bavaria.' Zapolya actually engaged to help the Dukes with 100,000 men[1] in case of war being waged against them.[2]

In order to predispose the Bavarian provincial Estates in favour of this treachery to the Fatherland, the Dukes represented to them that 'if they wanted to retain their lands and their people they must protect themselves against King Ferdinand. If they submitted to his election and took no steps against it, the Electors would foist rulers on them and on the other princely houses according to their pleasure; or the successive Emperors and Kings would themselves rule over them despotically. Princes with lands and subjects of their own would no longer have any position and authority, but would be looked on as slaves who must do and give whatever was exacted of them.' The Emperor and his brother, they said, were resolved to subjugate the Empire to themselves. Bavaria must also be protected against the Turks. If they formed a league with the Saxon and his allies they would be secure from molestation by the Turks. If the Emperor and the King were to take active measures against them, Zapolya, and the Turks also, would invade the Austrian dominions, and the other princes

[1] That is to say, 'Turks.'

[2] Muffat, pp. 142–145. Bucholtz, iv. 159–160.

as well would come to their succour; foreign kings would supply them with money and troops.

In order to negotiate an agreement with the Elector of Saxony and his adherents with reference to the election of Ferdinand, the Chancellor Eck betook himself in August 1531 to the Landgrave Philip at Giessen. Religious questions also came under discussion between them. It was decided that if the Pope postponed the General Council the Emperor should be asked to convene one on his own authority; if, however, for one reason or another, the Emperor should decline to do this, an assembly of the Estates should be convoked, both for deliberation concerning unity in religion and for abolition of abuses.[1] Thus, with Bavaria's approval, a German Diet was to constitute a court of arbitration in matters of religion, independent of the Papal Chair.

On October 24 the Bavarian Dukes William and Louis concluded at Saalfeld a treaty with the confederates of Smalcald against King Ferdinand. 'For weighty and Christian reasons,' said this treaty, 'the Elector of Saxony, for the prevention of disorder in Christendom and in the German lands, and for the maintenance of the freedom of Christendom and of the Empire, has protested against the election of Ferdinand. In this matter the confederates intend to stand by the Elector to a man, and never more to sever themselves from him; none shall, without the knowledge and consent of the others, agree to any decision, treaty, or truce.' If, either on account of this alliance or on account of their refusing allegiance to Ferdinand, any one of them suffered aggression or violence, they would all render reciprocal help in land, goods, and people.

[1] Ranke, iii. 302, from correspondence in the Weimar archives.

To this league, nominally formed with a view to the maintenance of the freedom and religion of the German nation, foreign powers were also to be won over.

For this purpose the Bavarian agent Bonaventura Kurss was sent to the King of France, and the Hessian councillor Nicolaus Meyer to the King of England, to invite these monarchs to join the league, and to try to obtain from them money supplies to the amount of about 300,000 florins. The King of France, moreover, was to be asked to try to prevail on Venice, Switzerland, Lorraine, and Guelders to join the league also; the Landgrave Philip and Duke Wilhelm were also to use their influence with the Duke of Guelders, and Philip at the same time was to negotiate an agreement with King Frederic of Denmark. In November Philip sent another special envoy, Count William of Fürstenberg, to the French King, to point out to him how greatly to the advantage of France it was that Ferdinand should not become possessed of the imperial sovereignty for himself and his heirs. Francis I. would, therefore, do well to join the King of England in granting the sum asked for by the League, and to send one of the confederates, with plenary powers, to the meeting the Leaguers proposed to hold in Lübeck for adjusting the question of military subsidies. The King of France was at the same time urgently advised to assist in restoring Ulrich of Würtemberg.[1] On November 18 the Chancellor Eck made the following proposal to the Landgrave: That at the imperial Diet summoned by the Emperor to meet at Ratisbon the Princes and Estates should appear with 'a considerable military

[1] Rommel, i. 290-291, and ii. 260-261.

equipment;' that Bavaria should muster 1,000 cavalry, Saxony, Hesse, and other Estates each of them 500, and that they should encamp opposite Ratisbon on Bavarian territory, should blockade the bridge and the Danube, surround the assembled members of the Diet, together with the Emperor, King Ferdinand, and the Electors, and so bring them to their senses.

At the meeting which was to take place at Lübeck in January 1532 the question of an alliance between Zapolya and the confederate princes of Saalfeld was also to be discussed.[1] Zapolya on the occasion, through his representative, Nickel von Minckwitz, asked for a contingent of German cavalry, in addition to the Danish forces. 'We are well disposed,' wrote the Bavarian Dukes in answer, in March 1532, 'to accommodate your royal Majesty in this respect, and to help in the furtherance of whatever may be for your honour and profit;' they would willingly, they said, contribute their share towards the expenses of the cavalry, as they had already informed the ambassadors of Saxony and Hesse.

In order, as far as possible, to thwart the Emperor in his earnest endeavours to bring about peace between Ferdinand and Zapolya, the Dukes assured Zapolya that they had good reasons for believing that King Ferdinand's might was not, after all, greatly to be dreaded,[2] 'for his poverty is so great that his affairs are in a desperate condition. We have wished to inform your Royal Highness of this fact, that it may guide

[1] Eck's despatch of September 27, 1531, to the Dukes of Bavaria, and the Recess of the Nuremberg Diet of September 20, in Muffat, pp. 113–137.

[2] Muffat, pp. 164–166. As a matter of fact, of all these foreign alliances at Lübeck only that with Denmark was actually concluded.

you in your movements, whether for peace or otherwise.'

'Now or never,' so Chancellor Eck opined, 'was the moment for throwing off the Italian allegiance to the Emperor and Ferdinand.' But it was, above all, necessary to this end that Zapolya should be supported against Ferdinand. 'In short,' wrote Eck to Duke William on April 21, 1532, 'if Saxony, Hesse, and your princely Highness will only take care to fortify your position, and hold firmly to your purpose, it will be the very best thing to keep the Voyvode on the throne; for he by himself can be of more use to your Highness than all the other Christian kings.' Duke Louis of Bavaria was exerting himself to prevent the Bohemians from giving Ferdinand any help against the Turks, telling them that Ferdinand had no great prestige in the Empire, and was so poor that their help, even if they gave it, would be scarcely of any use. The Bohemians, he said, 'would get nothing but scorn instead of thanks.' As a reason for refusing help 'they were to allege that they intended to be guided by the Estates of the Empire in this matter, and in proportion to their means to contribute as the others did. In this way they might be able to keep their money for themselves and for the necessities of the Bohemian crown.'

The French King also now developed a zealous activity. At the beginning of May 1532 he notified to the Landgrave at Giessen, through Hieronymus Lasky, that he had issued orders for hindering a proposed treaty between Ferdinand and Zapolya.[1] Lasky wrote from Giessen to the Dukes of Bavaria to give them detailed information of the instructions he had received from

[1] Letter of May 1, 1532, Muffat, p. 211.

Francis I. The King of France wished for the closest friendship with them, and had despatched an ambassador to them to arrange an alliance which was also to include the Kings of England and Denmark, Zapolya of Hungary, and the Dukes of Prussia. The best cause for war with the House of Austria was furnished by the affair of Ulrich von Würtemberg; the Dukes must, therefore, become reconciled with the latter and support his son.[1] The Landgrave Philip had pointed out to Francis I. how important Ulrich's restoration was for France: Würtemberg would supply the French with the doughtiest warriors, and the whole of Southern Germany would stand open to France.

In order to facilitate war against the Imperial House, this French monarch, who was in alliance with the German princes, 'for the sake of German freedom,' also busied himself in sowing dissension in the Palatinate. The Count Palatine, Otto Heinrich of Pfalz-Neuburg, already at that time an advocate of the new doctrines, must be incited, he said, to aspire to electoral dignity; by this means the Palatine House, which still remained loyal to the Empire, would be divided into two parties.[2] The war in Germany, Francis I. insisted, was not to begin till the Emperor had left the country; for he feared that so long as Charles remained in the Empire they would not be able to reckon on the fidelity of the imperial cities. 'In accordance with a treaty concluded with Zapolya,' he admonished the latter, through Lasky, 'to enter into no agreement with Ferdinand.' He was also

[1] Letter of May 1, 1532, in Muffat, pp. 204–207.

[2] '... ut inducatur Palatinus Reni Otto Henricus repetere electoratum, quem intellexit esse in Fridericum translatum, *ut per hoc discordia inter Palatinos Reni suscitetur*.'

commissioned, wrote Lasky to the Bavarian Dukes, to try to arrange that the Sultan should not come in person to Austria this summer, but should, instead, furnish the French King with military assistance. Zapolya wished for an alliance with the German princes, but he would never on this account give up his connection with the Turks; they had better not, therefore, make any such demand upon him.[1]

On May 26, 1532, a treaty of alliance was drawn up in the Bavarian monastery of Scheyern between France, Saxony, Hesse, and Bavaria. It was settled with minute exactness how many troops, both horse and foot, each of the confederates was to contribute. Francis I. pledged himself to deposit at Munich, in advance, 100,000 crowns in ready money towards the expenses of the war preparations.[2]

'The German princes and their councillors can always be won over by money,' said Francis I., 'as I myself and my predecessors on the throne have experienced.'[3] In the case of Duke George of Saxony alone did Francis meet with a different kind of experience. When he offered the latter a yearly sum of at least 5,000 florins, in order to gain him for his purposes,

[1] Letter of May 1, 1532, Muffat, pp. 204–207.

[2] See Stumpf, pp. 93–98, and the protocol of the negotiations at Scheyern in the *Urkundenbuch*, pp. 28–34. Once again, towards the end of the Thirty Years' War, the friendship of the French King was a subject of self-lauda tion at the Bavarian court. It was said in Paris: 'Francis I. in 1532 and again in 1534 had called the Bavarian Dukes "friends and allies;" had conferred on them the extraordinary distinction of sending to their court his most confidential ministers; had promised to aid them to the utmost, not only in the interests of the majesty and freedom of the Empire, but for their own personal welfare; and to this end had sent them 100,000 crowns.' Instruction for Count Gronsfeld and Dr. Krebs in the year 1647, in V. Aretin, *Bayerns auswärtige Verhältnisse, Urkunden zum ersten Abschnitt*, pp. 3–4.

[3] *Relations Secrètes*, p. 19.

Duke George answered that he would not be bound to anybody but to 'one sovereign, the Emperor, and to God Almighty.'

According to their engagement the Bavarian Dukes, in 1532, allowed the French to levy troops in their dominions. On the strength of the treaty with France Ludwig, on June 25, 1532, expressed the hope that the Sultan on his march to Germany would spare Bavaria.[1]

In November 1531 King Ferdinand, on being more accurately informed of the gigantic preparations of the Turks and of their alliances as well through the agency of Zapolya as with France and with German Princes, sent a deputation to the Sultan (under sanction of the Emperor) and declared that, in order to save Austria and the whole of Germany from an inroad of the barbarians, he was willing to give up the whole of Hungary to the Voyvode, on condition that the kingdom should revert to himself on the death of Zapolya. But the Sultan had no desire for peace, and was fully determined to march against the Emperor (to whom he refused any title but that of King of Spain), and by the defeat of this monarch to establish the world-wide domination of Mohammedanism.

'Be it known unto you,' wrote Solyman to King Ferdinand on July 15, 1532, 'that by the grace of God and of the Prophet I have set forth with all my nobles and all my slaves, and with an innumerable host, to seek out the King of Spain. By the grace of God I am marching against him. If he is of a high and mighty spirit, let him encounter me in the field, and that which God shall decree will then take place. If he will not

[1] Muffat, p. 223.

encounter me, then let him send tribute to my imperial Majesty.'

The Sultan reckoned for success on the religious dissensions in Germany. When Ferdinand's ambassador boasted to Ibraim Pasha of the great might of the Emperor, and the love of obedience of his subjects, the Grand Vizier broke in with the words: 'What sort of obedience does he get? Has he made peace with that Martin Luther?'[1]

The army of the Sultan, numbering about 250,000 men, poured itself over Hungary in June, and overran the western parts of the country which had previously escaped the ravages of war. Under the generalship of Casim-Begh 18,000 cavalry invaded Austria, devastating wherever they went with fire and sword, up to beyond the Enns. 'They killed or took captive many thousand Christians, men, women, and children,' wrote Schärtlin von Burtenbach. Zapolya marched with the Wallachians into Moravia and Silesia, to plunder and burn there, and 'to cut off the help of the Bohemians from the Roman King and from the whole of Christendom.' The janissaries were burning with desire to conquer Vienna[2] this time, and then to march on to Ratisbon, where the Emperor and the notables were sitting in consultation over supplies to be voted against the Turks.

[1] A. v. Gevay, *Urkunden und Actenstücke zur Geschichte der Verhältnisse zwischen Oesterreich, Ungarn und der Pforte von* 1526 *bis* 1541–1532, p. 31.

[2] On August 8, 1532, the Turks were only two miles distant from Vienna, so the Emperor wrote to his sister Maria. Lanz, *Correspondenz*, ii. 3.

CHAPTER IV

THE DIET OF RATISBON—THE 'RELIGIOUS PEACE' OF NUREMBERG—THE TURKISH CAMPAIGN, 1532

THE Diet appointed by the Emperor for January 6, 1532, at which measures were to be resolved on for putting an end to the confusion and divisions in the Christian religion, for resistance against the Turks, and for the maintenance of peace and justice in the Empire, 'had, as usual, to be postponed on account of the non-attendance of the notables.' When the Emperor reached Ratisbon on February 28, not one of the members had yet arrived. On April 17, when the assembly opened, only a few of the Princes were in their places; every one of the Electors was still absent.'

Charles informed the assembly that whereas the Sultan of Turkey was reported as being about to invade Germany with gigantic forces, it was imperatively necessary for them to raise an army of 90,000 men: of these he himself was prepared to contribute 25,000 foot and 5,000 cavalry; and he expected the nation to supply 50,000 foot and 10,000 cavalry.

On May 28 a few of the notables were admitted to the presence of the Emperor for closer discussion of the matter. 'We were taken into his Majesty's sleeping apartment,' writes the Frankfort delegate, Fürstenberg. 'His Majesty was so gracious and condescending that I

scarcely think his lowliest servant could have behaved more humbly. His Majesty wore nothing but a plain dress coat, and sat on a bare bench, with no cushions or silken coverings to recline on or to cover him. He held in his hand a simple twig from a may tree to fan away the flies.' He had received fresh intelligence, Charles informed the delegates, that the Sultan had already set out; the matter therefore could bear no further delay; if others appeared dilatory he would have it known that on his part there was no lack of zeal and readiness.'

On the following day the notables, with the exception of the Elector of Saxony and his followers, promised the Emperor help against the Turks; not, however, the amount that he had asked for, but 40,000 infantry and 8,000 cavalry. On May 31 the Emperor declared himself satisfied with this amount of help, and emphatically urged all possible speed in equipping the forces, in order that they might assemble at Ratisbon by the end of July at latest. He besought the Estates 'to bethink themselves of the proper measures to induce the Elector of Saxony and his party to do their duty in the matter of furnishing their quota; for his Majesty could not permit them to do otherwise, having given them no cause of offence.' It was proposed by the notables on June 2 that Vienna should be chosen instead of Ratisbon as the rendezvous of the troops, and that they should all be collected there by August 15. Suggestions of various sorts were also made by the notables respecting the appointment of a commander-in-chief, the commissariat arrangements, and other matters; and great stress was laid by them on the necessity of securing peace at home if war was to be carried on abroad.

'It is the opinion of the Electors, Princes, and notables,' so runs the clause, 'that if a foreign war is to be carried on satisfactorily it is above all things needful that there should be peace at home, so that each one may know how he stands with regard to his neighbours, and that none may have reason to fear violent aggression, invasion, or injustice of any sort.'

The news that came pouring in concerning the Turks grew more and more alarming. Great hordes had already reached Belgrade, wrote the Frankfort delegate on June 11; about 40,000 Tartars were encamped at Buda. 'But,' he goes on to complain, 'we are still dawdling and delaying, so much so that I think God in His wrath against us is blinding our eyes. Everybody would gladly be at home.'

Instead of thinking of the defence of the frontiers the notables spent their time in reproaching the Emperor for the abuses and shortcomings of his court, for the dilatory execution of business, and his appointment of foreigners to the chancery and other public offices. 'In like manner it was now Spanish foragers who made the arrangements with the hostels, whereas this was the business of a marshal of the Empire.' Moreover the Emperor took upon himself to exempt many principalities and provinces from the jurisdiction of the Imperial Chamber, as, for instance, Würtemberg, Maestricht, and Utrecht. 'And all this is done in a peremptory manner,' said Fürstenberg. 'And although these charges are true,' he went on, 'it is nevertheless to be feared that his Majesty will not take them in good part,' but will answer that he 'has left wife, children, land, and people for the sake of the Empire, and that he gets

nothing from the Empire in return ; that he spends a great deal of money out here, and that he is contributing very doughty and substantial help for the benefit of the German nation.'

In the hope of obtaining help against the Turks from the Elector of Saxony and his allies, and at the same time of restoring peace in the Empire, the Emperor, even after his overtures had been rejected, had kept up incessant negotiations with the Protestants by means of the two mediators, the Electors of Mayence and of the Palatinate. 'Saxony, Hesse, and their allies,' says a report sent in by these mediators to the Emperor, 'have been for years in a state of admirable preparation for war, and they are not only well supplied with all necessary munitions, but they can also count on distant help and support, which they have been diligently seeking and soliciting.'

The Catholics, on the other hand, especially the ecclesiastical Estates, were by no means well equipped. The Protestants, moreover, enjoyed the favour of the common people, 'who for some years past had taken their stand on the literal text of the Gospel, in order thereby to justify and carry out personal aims.' If, therefore, it should really come to war, it would remain to be seen 'on whom, not only among their own subjects, but among their paid and commissioned soldiery, the Catholics would be able to count, and whom they would have reason to fear.'

For all these reasons they thought it right to recommend a truce to hostilities and to concede 'that Saxony, Hesse, together with their allies and adherents, should be left free in the exercise of their religion, as it now stood, until the meeting of the General Council, and

that they should not be coerced or oppressed; but that no further innovations should be allowed until the meeting of the Council, and that all persons should conduct themselves in a peaceable and neighbourly manner according to the regulations of the Landfriede.'[1]

The Emperor was all the more in favour of such a *statu quo* arrangement as he feared that under no other circumstances were the Protestant Estates likely to contribute any Turkish aid, and that they would be quite capable of taking up arms even while a Turkish war was going on. They had indeed been loud in their threats to this effect.[2] The Pope himself, in March 1532, urged the Emperor not to break off negotiations with the Protestants; if he could not make the exact terms that he wished, at any rate let him do what could be done in order that the Turks, when they came, should not find victory made easy to them by civil dissensions in Germany; 'even if those people were Lutherans they were all the same Christians.'

The negotiations for a truce were carried on with the Saxon Elector and his evangelical allies at Schweinfurt and Nuremberg by the two mediating Electors, to the great annoyance of the French King, who was anxious to prevent any reconciliation of the Protestants with the Emperor and King Ferdinand, and to the annoyance also of the Bavarian Chancellor, Eck, who was anxious for war, and whose great endeavour was to frustrate all the Emperor's attempts at effecting an agreement with Bavaria. Charles V., like Ferdinand I.,

[1] Bucholtz, iv. 16–18.

[2] Letters of Aleander, June 18, 1532, in Laemmer, *Mon. Vat.* pp. 131–135. 'Ne son per ho di quella suspizione, qual pare che Sua Maestà habii (ut dixit Grandvelle), che gli heretici occupatis nobis contra Turcos non suscipiant arma in nos.'

sought in vain to gain over this influential man, who everywhere set obstacles and hindrances in their way.[1]

Luther and Melanchthon, alarmed at the Landgrave Philip's alliances with the Zwinglians and with foreign powers, and fearing also his warlike intentions, addressed friendly advice to the Elector of Saxony.

They were anxious that the chances of a peaceful settlement should not be wrecked by the two stipulations which the Saxon jurists and Philip of Hesse—the latter most especially—insisted on, viz. that not only the present adherents of the Augsburg creed, but also all future ones, should be included in the treaty; and that the Catholic rulers should consent to allow the promulgation of the new doctrines in their territories.

'The first of these demands would never be agreed to by the opposite party,' Luther wrote to the Elector. 'It was not advisable, therefore, to wrangle about it at the risk of upsetting the peace negotiations altogether, especially as it might be passed over without any injury to consciences.' It was quite enough to offer the 'Gospel' to the others, and let them accept it at their own risk, 'as the princes and towns of this party had done.' 'To insist on this stipulation was to lay themselves open to the suspicion of wishing to draw away subjects from the other princes, and by this means to divert the whole of the Empire from the Emperor to their own side.'

[1] To what extent Eck was canvassed by the Habsburg brothers is shown by a passage in a letter from Eck to Duke William, dated Ratisbon, May 7, 1532. 'I am,' he writes, 'the best man with the Emperor and the King; no other is made more of, and in time, I think, I shall have to escape from here, for no one seems allowed to say a word but my poor, miserable self.' Muffat, p. 213; Wickelmann, *Schmalk. Bund*, p. 286.

With regard to the second stipulation he wrote: 'We ought not to do to others what we should not like others to do to us. Now, as no rulers of this party would like to be compelled by neighbouring princes to allow their subjects to go on observing the old religion, so it follows that we have no right to compel the rulers of the opposite party to allow their subjects the exercise of the new religion.'[1]

The Elector let himself be guided by Luther's advice.

On June 23 a treaty of peace, limited to the 'present adherents of the Confession of Augsburg,' was concluded at Nuremberg. Its terms were as follows: 'Until the next meeting of a general free Christian Council, such as was decided on at the Nuremberg Diet, the Landfriede shall be religiously observed between the Catholic and the Protestant Estates, so that no one of these shall molest or do violence to another, whether on account of the faith or for any other reason. The Emperor shall use all diligence in order that the call for the Council may be issued within six months, and that the Council be held a year after; in case, however, of the Council's not meeting, the Emperor shall summon the Estates of the Empire to assemble at some conveniently situated place, in order to consult with him as to what further proceedings shall be instituted with regard to the Council and other urgent matters. All legal measures "in matters of religion" which shall have been already set on foot (or are likely to be begun) by the Imperial Exchequer and other courts against the Elector of Saxony and his allies are to be suspended until the meeting of the said Council, or of the Diet which is to

[1] De Wette, iv. 369–374, 380–385.

take its place, but in each separate case appeal must be made to the Emperor to order the suspension of said measures.'[1]

The Articles which had been agreed upon at Nuremberg were laid before the notables at Ratisbon by the Emperor on July 2. The Estates, however, refused to sanction them and insisted that 'in all matters concerning religion the Augsburg Recess should be conformed to.' The Emperor in vain exhorted them to consider that peace must be concluded with the Elector of Saxony and his allies, in order that the help against the Turks might be the more effectually granted and peace and tranquillity restored in the Empire.'

The Frankfort delegate tells us that the towns were in sympathy with the Emperor in his efforts; and, 'recognising the graciousness and gentleness of his Majesty's spirit and heart, were disposed to send to his assistance men and other military supplies beyond the share apportioned to them.'[2]

But with many others of the Estates, in spite of all their former promises, things had come to such a pass that the Emperor asked to be again informed by them whether they were really minded to grant the promised supplies in order to save him from being plunged into ruinous expense for the defence of Germany.

'And so,' wrote Fürstenberg at the end of the transactions, 'we are back again at the beginning.'

'Nearly all the Princes,' he wrote on July 7, 'with the exception of two or three, have ridden away: the Emperor and the notables are reviling each other; and

[1] Bucholtz, iv. 23–47.

[2] Fürstenberg, July 2, 1532, in the 'Reichstagsacten,' 45, fol. 27.

the notables are using language which, as they themselves allow, is not becoming to them.'

Special suspicions were entertained of the behaviour of the Bavarian Chancellor Eck, 'that false serpent who was secretly conspiring with the Protestants and with France, and with the Turkish Voyvode of Hungary, while he was whispering in the ears of the Catholics that the Emperor was betraying the faith, and that they ought not to make any concessions to the heretics, even though such uncompromising policy should cost them life and property.'

The Catholic Estates clamoured vehemently for a Council, and blamed the Emperor in unmistakable terms for being himself the cause, 'with his endless promises and sugared words,' of all the protraction and delay. 'If any insurrection or disaster should result from this delay,' they wished to have entered their protest before God and man 'that they were innocent in the matter, and that it was not their fault if, owing to any rising among their subjects, they should be prevented from contributing aid against the Turks.' Charles, on the other hand, pointed out how much anxious thought, trouble, and labour he had spent with regard to the Council; the fault did not lie with him, but with the notables. He had advised and entreated them to send a solemn embassy to the Pope (accompanied by his own Orator) to plead for a Council with weighty arguments, and also to bear witness to his (the Emperor's) zeal. For the notables thus to twit him with his own promises and to remind him of their protests was altogether inopportune and unbecoming, and, as his Majesty felt convinced, it had not been done with the consent of all the Estates.'

'All this,' Fürstenberg adds, 'in stern and caustic language.'

Wholly ignoring Catholic principles, the notables now went so far as to require of the Emperor that if the Pope did not 'at the very earliest' convene a General Council he (the Emperor) would summon one on his own authority, or at least convoke a German national council. This demand was in harmony with the agreement concluded between the Chancellor Eck and the Landgrave Philip.

The Emperor, however, could not be prevailed on to make any such promise. He would consent to nothing, so he declared to the staunch Catholic Elector Joachim von Brandenburg, which was in opposition to the will of the Pope and the respect due to the Apostolic Chair.

It was not the Pope, Charles informed the notables, who was to blame for the postponement of the Council, but the King of France, with whom, in spite of all their despatches and deputations, they had not been able to settle anything as to the time and place of meeting of the Council.[1] He would spare no trouble in endeavouring to persuade the Pope to summon, within six months, a Council, which should meet in a year after the writs were issued. If he should not be successful, he would convoke a fresh Diet, at which he would inform the Estates of the causes of delay and

[1] The policy of the French, who endeavoured to hinder all healing of the religious schism in Germany, was to place all possible obstacles in the way of a General Council. See Pastor, *Reunionsbestrebungen*, pp. 74 ff. The jealousy of France and the levity of England were the cause, so Clement VII. told the imperial father confessor, Garcia de Loaysa, that the Council had not yet met. Garcia's letter of April 14, 1431, in Heine's *Briefe an Kaiser Carl V.* pp. 115, 417. See also pp. 171–172 and the Pope's letter to the Emperor, pp. 308–309, 539.

consult with them as to the best means of providing for the common welfare of Germany, whether by a Council or in some other way.[1]

The treaty of peace concluded at Nuremberg with the Elector of Saxony and his co-religionists was made known by the Emperor to the assembly. But out of consideration for the Catholic notables, who wished that in the Imperial Chamber also all proceedings should be in accordance with the Augsburg Recess, the suspension of legal measures promised by the Emperor was not openly proclaimed, but was communicated to the Protestants by special notification.[2]

According to the wording of this notice the 'suspension' related exclusively to 'matters of religion' and not, as the Protestants had demanded, 'to everything also connected with such matters.'[3] This difference proved of great importance in the later interpretation of the terms of the Nuremberg treaty of peace.

'It was a very happy thing for the Holy Roman Empire and for the whole of Christendom' that on the 27th of July a recess was finally drawn up at Ratisbon ('albeit without any demonstrations of joy'), for 'otherwise there would have been little or no help forthcoming against the cruel arch-enemy of the Christian name; but, as it was, a fair-sized army was put in the field, though not nearly so numerous a one as had been promised.'

[1] 'Per niente Sua Maiestà ha voluto,' wrote Aleander on July 25, 1532, 'che si metto in la conclusion che essistessa habbii ad intimar il Concilio, come hanno più volte tra loro concluso questi Principi e Stati.' Laemmer, *Mon. Vat.* p. 143.

[2] '. . . assurance particulière de non procéder (à cause de la religion) par édit fiscal . . .'

[3] Bucholtz, iv. 46–47. *Urkundenband*, pp. 32–33.

Instead of the promised 40,000 infantry and 8,000 cavalry, the Empire only supplied half the number of each. To these were added (the Emperor contributing more than he had promised) 45,000 infantry and 7,000 cavalry of the imperial and royal troops from Bohemia, Italy, and Spain. Pope Clement, 'to the great joy of the Germans,' gave 100,000 gold florins for the payment of 10,000 Hungarians, and sent his nephew Hippolytus de' Medici into the field with a body of experienced troops.[1]

At the end of September the Emperor reviewed his large army in the camp near Vienna. But no important engagement took place. The heroic defence of Güns by Nicolaus Jurischitz, which had baffled all the assaults of the Turks, had already disconcerted Solyman in his plan of campaign; and the Sultan, not daring to risk an encounter with the formidable German forces, made his retreat through Styria, consoling himself with committing fearful depredations as he went.

'Had the Turks,' said Johann Hass, burgomaster of Görlitz, 'directed their energies against the dominions of the Bohemian crown, instead of against Austria, we should all of us at the present day most certainly have been Ottoman subjects; for the Empire would scarcely have held out a finger in aid of the Bohemian lands.' The corps of the Turkish general Casim-Begh 'was so terribly cut to pieces in the Wienerwald that not a single man escaped.' Zapolya's lieutenant, Ludwig Gritti, who had besieged the town of Gran both by land

[1] See Aleander's despatch of July 7, 1532, in Laemmer, *Mon. Vat.* p. 142. He had had the greatest difficulty, wrote the Pope, in collecting this sum, but all the same he gave it 'out of love for the Emperor and King Ferdinand, as well as for the German nation, on which he chiefly based his hopes for the salvation of Christendom.'

and by water, was forced by the valiant resistance of the German garrison to give up his attempt. Triumphant news also reached the Emperor from Andrea Doria, who had chased the Ottomans out of the Ionian Sea, and conquered Coron, Patras, and the Dardanelles of Morea.

It would have been an easy matter at this juncture to liberate Hungary from the hands of Zapolya and the ignominious dominion of the Turks.

'With half our men,' wrote Schärtlin von Burtenbach, 'Hungary might easily have been conquered.' Concerning the method in which the war was carried on he says angrily: 'We fight, as this Emperor always has fought, like so many cows grazing in good pasture-land. When he is full and satisfied he lies down and ruminates; when hunger again goads him on he sets off in search of fresh pasture.'

The imperial army melted away, partly because the national troops had been intended only for resistance against the Turks, partly because the Emperor disbanded it.

To the great distress of King Ferdinand, the Emperor would not proceed any further against the Turks, but resolved on having an immediate personal interview with the Pope to negotiate about the summoning of a Council, after which he intended returning to Spain. He left behind him the Italian troops, only numbering about 8,000 men, in his brother's pay; and these soon became a veritable pest for Hungary.

Ferdinand was in despair.

'The Moravians and Bohemians are giving trouble,' he wrote respecting Hungary to his sister Maria on October 2, 'and the Empire will do nothing; so that I

have no other troops than the Emperor's Italians and 5,000 foot soldiers from the county of Tyrol and Pfyrdt.' Although they were well paid, the Italians mutinied and took themselves off, burning and ravaging as they went.

'You can imagine, dear sister,' wrote Ferdinand on October 21, 'in what straits I must be, besides which you know the condition in which the affairs of the Empire have been left, as well with regard to Bavaria as to other parts: everything is in such a state that the outlook for the future is even worse than the present.'[1]

It boded specially ill for the future, for the peace of the Empire, and above all for the Catholic cause, that, in addition to the yet unsettled Hungarian difficulties, the recognition of Ferdinand as Roman-German King was still a matter of dispute at the time of the Emperor's return to Spain.

The papal nuncio Aleander saw clearly that the solution of these two questions was of the greatest importance, and that the political attitude taken up by the Bavarian Dukes was of supreme significance in the matter.

In religious affairs, Aleander wrote, the general feeling of the nation was much more favourable to Rome than it had been eleven years before, at the time of his first sojourn in Germany; there was now an earnest desire that the multitudinous heresies that had sprung up might be put an end to. True, there still existed much covetous desire for possession of Church

[1] Gevay, ii. 51–54. '. . . oultre tout cesy, saves en quel bon estat que demourent les afferés de lempire tant avecques Bavière que aultres, que est a lavenant de sorte que est plus a craindre ladvenir que nest encoires le present.'

property, and there was no lack of hatred towards the clergy, which, moreover, the latter in great measure deserved; but notwithstanding all this he believed that if a few abuses were done away with, and if the Catholics would only do their duty, the return of the people to the unity of the Church would not be difficult to effect.

'It is a fact of great significance,' he says in a despatch from Ratisbon of March 14, 1532, 'that the subjects of the Lutheran princes, after having been enticed into heresy by the promise of temporal benefits, are now finding out that they have been deceived, and that they are much more heavily weighted now than in former times, when their burdens were in many ways alleviated by the clergy. The same holds good in the free cities, although maybe for different reasons, in the case of those who were at first the chief originators of revolt. Now that they see how greatly their dignity is lowered in the estimation of the common people, they repent of their apostasy and would gladly retract, if they did not fear an insurrection of the populace. On the other hand the subjects of the Catholic princes are even more hard-pressed, some of them by tyranny, others by punishment for having dared to rise in rebellion; the plebeians in the Catholic free cities look with envy on the power which the plebeians in the heretical free cities have acquired, so that they too are bitter with the spirit of insurrection; and thus the whole nation is on the brink of a precipice.' Still, however, he did not look on matters with such despairing eyes as in the year 1521, at the time of the Diet of Worms. For these heresies had now reached such an extravagant pitch of absurdity that all laws,

human and divine, must inevitably perish if they were allowed free course. For this reason he was firmly convinced that, if the Emperor would decide to remain permanently in Germany, or if Ferdinand were generally recognised as King of the Romans, and the affairs of Hungary peaceably settled, the errors and confusion would soon be put a stop to.

He pronounced emphatically that the Emperor's absence from Germany and the failure of Ferdinand to obtain recognition were 'more prejudicial to the Catholic cause at the present time than even heresy itself. Because the evil spirit knows well that loyalty to King Ferdinand would be the surest means of bringing back the Lutherans, either by force or persuasion, he has filled the hearts of the ducal brothers, William and Louis of Bavaria, with envy and dislike for Ferdinand, although both of them have been good Catholics up till now, and although they are next of kin to the King.' From envy of Ferdinand's greatness and power both the brothers had joined with the Lutheran princes in revolt against the King. And even if, from shame or for other reasons, they would not themselves change their religion, it was still far from certain that they might not allow their subjects to become Protestants, and that they might not come forward in support of the heretics.[1]

Language of the most vehement description was hurled by the imperial party against the Chancellor Eck, who held Duke William completely in his power. 'Wicked deeds,' wrote Lorenz Truchsess, 'have their principal seat in the conscience of Chancellor Eck, the

[1] Laemmer, *Mon. Vat.* pp. 103–104. See Pastor's *Reunionsbestrebungen*, pp. 79, 170–171.

author of treachery too vile for words. He has accepted bribes whenever he had a chance, and has set all the world by the ears, now advising a bloody war against the Protestants, and then, on the sly, forming alliances with them and whispering in their ears that the Emperor was preparing to use force against them, and that he would not keep any of the promises he had made them.'[1]

[1] *Aufzeichnungen.* Characteristic of Eck is his saying: 'Wenn man schon brief und siegel nit hielde, so were es doch uber sechzig jar alles vergessen.' Lenz, iii. 266, note 2.

LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

CHAPTER V

PLAN OF BAVARIA AND HER ALLIES FOR THE EXPULSION OF KING FERDINAND—THE SUABIAN LEAGUE DISSOLVED —WÜRTEMBERG CONQUERED AND PROTESTANTISED, 1532–1534.

SCARCELY had the Landgrave Philip, on August 13, 1532, given in his adhesion to the Religious Peace of Nuremberg when the Bavarian Chancellor Eck renewed his attempts to incense him against the Emperor. 'If the Emperor,' Eck intimated to Philip, 'was victorious over the Turks, he would then lead his army against Saxony and Hesse, on pretext of the faith,' or else he would proceed in some way against Saxony, Bavaria, and Hesse, on account of Ferdinand's election, in order 'to magnify his reputation in German and Italian lands.' He ought, therefore, at once to apply for the 5,000[1] soldiers promised by the King of Denmark.[2]

Philip answered him, in August 1532, that he did not think that the Emperor would proceed to any measures 'for the sake of the faith' which were at variance with the treaty he had signed; 'such conduct would not be honourable, or befitting his imperial Majesty.' As little did he believe that Charles and

[1] See Philip's letter to the Bavarian Dukes of July 27, 1532, Muffat, pp. 241–242.

[2] Eck's despatch, known only by Philip's answer.

Ferdinand, however anxious they might be to see the affair of the election settled, would make it a *casus belli*, 'without legal procedure.' He surmised that the Emperor would 'take counsel on the matter with the Estates of the Empire, and, if necessary, have the case legally tried.' And even if the Emperor should prove successful against the Turks all would not be smooth sailing, for it would still take a long time to conquer Hungary. If, however, peace should be established in Hungary, then Eck's fears might indeed be realised. For this reason he would listen to his advice respecting the King of Denmark's troops. But he feared that the Elector John Frederic of Saxony (who had succeeded to the government on the death of his father on August 16) would not give his consent, for he had so much faith in the 'peace that had been concluded that he apprehended no danger.' All the same he had despatched an embassy to the Elector to consult with him concerning Bavaria's proposal.[1]

In order to settle the affairs of Hungary, Ferdinand, after Solyman's retreat, again 'took all possible pains to effect an accommodation with Zapolya.' On December 25, 1532, he wrote to his sister Maria that 'he had given his plenipotentiaries instructions of such a nature that if only the Voyvode was moderately reasonable a good result might well be hoped for; he was ready himself to go even beyond his duty, in order to bring matters to a happy conclusion.'[2]

But a 'happy conclusion' was precisely what Bavaria and Hesse, in league with France, were seeking to prevent.

At the end of November news arrived at the

[1] Muffat, pp. 247–250. [2] Bucholtz, iv. 129–130.

Bavarian court that Zapolya, with the help of Turkish troops and munitions, had besieged Buda and marched on to Siebenbürgen; such satisfactory agreements had also been made with the Turks that the Dukes need have no further anxiety as to their own interests.[1] Thereupon Eck ordered his agent to represent to Zapolya that he had little to fear this winter from Ferdinand, whose soldiers had in part deserted, in part been dismissed. He must make no treaty with Ferdinand except through the mediation of German princes and the King of Poland. If he thought of proceeding against Ferdinand, who had scarcely a fragment of power left, they would manage that some of the Electors and Princes should unite and make a compact with him, to declare themselves openly against Ferdinand and to insist on his giving up Hungary. The Austrian dominions also would be well pleased to join in such a measure, and Ferdinand would thus be cut off from all help not only from the Imperial Estates, but from his own hereditary dominions.

Ferdinand only wanted peace, the Bavarian Dukes assured Zapolya in a further despatch on February 17, 1533, because he was in the extremest depths of poverty, abandoned by the Emperor, and hated by his own subjects. From the Princes who would not recognise his election and from Ulrich of Würtemberg he was threatened with a serious war, and there could be no doubt that even the small amount of power that was left him would be destroyed.[2] Zapolya had better not,

[1] Eck's memorandum of November 28, 1532, Muffat, pp. 255–257; C. Winzerer to the Dukes, November 21, 1532, in Muffat, pp. 251–255.

[2] '. . . bella diversis jam ex partibus parentur, in procinctuque habeantur, quibus Ferdinandi vires omni procul dubio speratur ipsis ultimis e radicibus esse delendas.'

therefore, make any peace conditions with Ferdinand; an embassy from the French King and the German princes would soon give him more detailed instructions as to how war was to be waged against Ferdinand.[1]

To a French envoy, who had come to Munich in order once more to urge on the Bavarians to declare war against the Imperial House, the Dukes gave the following answer on March 21, 1533: They were ready to join in war, if this step was decided on by all the confederated States. But no active measures could be taken unless the King of England also joined the league and, like France, paid down to the confederates 100,000 crowns. Since the Dukes of Bavaria, at the instigation of France, and regardless of the Emperor's displeasure, had entered into an agreement with the Protestant princes, the French King must now make good his words and pay down the promised sum, and apply also to Henry VIII. for pecuniary help. As soon as the money came the war against the Emperor and Ferdinand should begin. The operations must occur simultaneously from several different quarters. Zapolya should operate against Nether Austria with 20,000 horse; half of the confederates against Bohemia and Austria, and France against the Netherlands, Italy, and Spain, in order that the Emperor might not be in a position to come to the help of his brother. Further, the French King should incite the Grisons to an invasion of the Tyrol, devise some means of keeping the Rhenish Electors occupied, and assist Prince Christopher of Würtemberg in the conquest of this duchy with 10,000 foot and 2,000 horse. The Dukes actually promised that even in

[1] Muffat, pp. 272–273.

case the rest of the confederates could not be moved to an offensive war they would still be ready to fight and would furnish 20,000 foot, 5,000 horse, and 100 pieces of artillery, if France would pay half in monthly instalments.[1]

On the French envoy's remarking that both his sovereign and the King of England had become suspicious of the intentions of the Dukes, because a report had been spread that they were negotiating with the Emperor, the Dukes answered him that 'this report was untrue and impugned their honour.'

At the same time, however, the Bavarian brothers sent assurances to the Emperor that he might count on their true and lifelong obedience; that they were using all diligence to prevail on the other princes to carry out the Emperor's wishes with regard to the recognition of Ferdinand; and that for this purpose they had invited the Elector of Saxony and his associates to a meeting at Nuremberg.[2]

At this meeting on April 3, 1533, the Dukes, the Elector of Saxony, and the Landgrave Philip signed a document ratifying the previous decisions with regard to the military regulations of their league and the amount of help they were to contribute. On April 5,

[1] Stumpf, pp. 123–124; Wille, *Philipp der Grossmüthige*, pp. 95–97.

[2] A. S. Stumpf, *Baierns politische Geschichte*, pp. 110–112. To the imperial ambassador Gottschalk Erikson the Dukes said: 'Quo maturius hoc negotium exequi possent super approbatione electionis regis Romanorum, se evocasse Norimbergam Saxonie ducem electorem, ut cum illo et suis adherentibus unanimiter in hac causa *ad voluntatem cesaree majestatis possent* concludere.' The Duke dissuaded the ambassador from going to Saxony, where he was commissioned to negotiate with the Elector concerning the recognition of Ferdinand. These negotiations, the Dukes assured him, would interfere with their honourable intentions. Erikson's report in Lanz, *State Papers*, p. 111.

at the request of the French envoy, these same princes made a written promise that 'the sum of money to be granted by the innate generosity' of Francis I. should only be spent according to the terms of the contract; any part of it that should remain over after necessary expenditure for the maintenance of the League and the confederates should be paid back. Two days later they informed Zapolya that in the course of that very year a war would break out in Germany, which would be favourable to his cause.

When, after the close of the Nuremberg meeting, an imperial ambassador was again sent to the Bavarian Dukes for the settlement of the election question, he received from them the assurance that 'the business that had been transacted at Nuremberg would be altogether well-pleasing to the Emperor, and he would be thereby convinced of the unswerving fidelity and trustworthiness of the Bavarian princes; for they had shown themselves ready to do whatever the Emperor wished.'[1] Chancellor Eck solemnly addressed the Envoy, saying: 'Tell the Emperor from me, Eck, that the Bavarian Princes reverence his Majesty as their god; that they would stake their lives and all their worldly possessions in his cause. Tell him that it is I, Eck, who say this.'[2]

Eck persistently urged the conclusion of an alliance with Zapolya. But the Elector of Saxony could not be brought to agree to this measure. The Landgrave Philip also thought that such an alliance would be

[1] '. . . nam se perpetuo velle facere et observare, quecunque cesaree majestati futura essent grata.'

[2] 'Die constanter Cesari, quod Eckius dixerit principes sui cesaream majestatem ut deum suum venerantur et pro ejus majestate animam atque fortunas omnes exponent.' Lanz, *State Papers*, pp. 113-115.

'troublesome;' nevertheless in a despatch to Eck on September 4, 1533, he declared himself 'ready to agree to it out of love for Bavaria.' He wrote to Zapolya that he would maintain 300 mounted soldiers in his pay for him for three months, and that in return Zapolya must promise him succour in case he should want it for himself or for some one or other of his friends—Ulrich von Würtemberg, for instance.[1]

Philip was most anxious to obtain the Elector of Saxony's approval of the league with Zapolya, because of the injury the latter would be able to do to Ferdinand; and he sought the Elector out personally at Eisenach to try and bring him round. He also endeavoured to overcome the Elector's conscientious scruples with regard to a contemplated alliance with the Turks. He wrote to Eck on October 19 that 'he had silenced the electoral conscience in respect to the Turks with the argument that whereas Ferdinand himself, who was a Christian king, was treating with the Turks, much less could we be blamed for doing likewise.'[2]

The Turkish news received by the Dukes was eminently favourable as regards their designs against the Imperial House. Their agent, Caspar Winzerer, sent them intelligence from Fünfkirchen, on September 27, that the Sultan had equipped 200 galleys and had bought up all the merchant ships of Venice, Genoa, and other towns, and paid ready money for them; and that he had sent word by an ambassador to the French King that he meant to compel the Emperor to restore all that he had taken from the French crown during the captivity of Francis, 'and that if the King wished

[1] Muffat, p. 298. [2] *Ibid.* pp. 299–302.

to become Emperor he (Solyman) would help him to do so and would send him men enough.' Zapolya, Winzerer's despatch went on to say, had received good news from France.[1]

Affairs appeared 'to be in prosperous swing.'

The agents Winzerer and Weinmeister were instructed by the Dukes to do all in their power to persuade Zapolya that there was no better way for the maintenance of his own position and for the complete discomfiture of Ferdinand than 'to stir up a gigantic war in Germany' and 'to procure money from the Turks, or from anywhere else, for carrying it on.' The costs of two armies to fight Ferdinand would amount to about 1,200,000 florins for half a year. If Zapolya were able, the Dukes said in an autograph despatch to the latter, to obtain the wished-for money from the Turks, then either the old Duke of Würtemberg or his son Christopher would kindle such a war against Ferdinand that he would without doubt be compelled not only to give up Hungary, but to flee from his hereditary dominions. Delegates from Bavaria, Saxony, and Hesse would negotiate a formal treaty with Zapolya at Augsburg.

At the Convention of the Suabian League, which was opened at the beginning of December 1533, the principal business transacted was first of all the dissolution of the League itself, and then 'the wresting of Würtemberg out of King Ferdinand's grasp.'

The Suabian League, ever since its foundation in 1488, had been the chief pivot of political life in South-Western Germany. To its organisation the Empire and

[1] Muffat, pp. 309–310.

the people were indebted, during the social revolution, for the overthrow of the plans of the insurrection party. It was the universal terror of all 'feud-thirsty lords.' Even towards the end of 1532 the towns connected with the League, in spite of their many grievances against it, acknowledged that it was to its organisation that they owed security in trade and traffic, and free enjoyment of their liberties, rent, and revenues.[1] This League was at the same time the chief mainstay of the Catholic Church and of the imperial power, while it secured to the Austrian House the stability of its position in Würtemberg. The Emperor and King Ferdinand accordingly exerted themselves to the utmost to prolong and strengthen the existence of the League, which by the terms of its last renewal for eleven years would expire on February 2, 1534. And for the same reasons the enemies of the Imperial House, France and Hesse especially, did their best to prevent its prolongation. 'For not till this League had been dissolved did the King of France and his German allies hope to carry out their schemes against the Emperor.'[2]

Philip of Hesse, whose 'expedition against the bishops' in 1525 the Suabian League had been chiefly instrumental in hindering, was unremitting in his endeavours to persuade the Protestant towns incorporated in the League to dissolve their connection with it, impressing on them 'that its existence was dangerous to their religion.' On July 18, 1531, Capito had written to Zwingli concerning the state of internal disintegration of the League.[3] In November 1532 the towns of the Smalcald confederacy, Ulm, Constance, Esslingen,

[1] Datt, *De Pace Publica*, p. 268. [2] *Relations Secrètes*, p. 27.
[3] *Zwinglii Opp.* viii. 624.

Reutlingen, Memmingen, Lindau, Biberach, and Brey decided that they would only consent to the prolongation of the Suabian League on condition that the confederacy of Smalcald was explicitly recognised by it; 'for,' said the town council of Esslingen, 'we dare not ally ourselves with godless, idolatrous people.' Even from the Catholic Estates, such as the Elector of Mayence, the Elector Palatine, and the Bishop of Würzburg, who in their great blindness saw not what they were doing, Philip actually obtained a formal declaration that none of them would be party to the prolongation of the League without the knowledge and consent of the others. But it was from the Bavarian Dukes that Philip obtained the most substantial help towards the complete dissolution of the League. The Bavarian Chancellor, Eck, was rewarded by the Landgrave with French money for his valuable services in the matter. Through the exertions of Philip and Eck a French ambassador, Guillaume du Bellay, appeared at the Augsburg Diet with instructions from Francis I. 'before all things to use his utmost endeavours to prevent the renewal of the Suabian League.'[1]

The League was dissolved, and from that moment the numerous associations formed to oppose the Emperor had free play.

Philip at once sent the news to Zapolya, saying that now that by his own and Bavaria's exertions the Suabian League had come to an end, the time was most opportune for Zapolya to begin the war against Ferdinand. The conquest of Würtemberg must be accomplished, and for this purpose he (Philip), together with many foreign princes and potentates, would put

[1] *Mémoires de G. du Bellay-Langey*, ii. 317-318.

forth all his power. 'An expedition,' he assured Zapolya, 'such as had never been heard of in Germany, should be directed against Ferdinand.'[1]

Philip had been carrying on a brisk correspondence with the Dukes of Bavaria and the Chancellor Eck concerning the restoration of Ulrich in the years 1531 and 1532. The Dukes, in return for their help, had stipulated that Ulrich should cede Heidenheim to Bavaria, repay the costs of the war, and retain the Catholic religion in the country. On Ulrich's complaining of 'the hardness of these conditions' Philip's advice to him was that he had better promise all that Bavaria demanded; but that there would be no need for him to keep his promises when once he had recovered his power. 'Kings, emperors, and princes before now,' he said to Ulrich, 'have had to agree to much harder terms than these, and afterwards have acted according to the saying: "An extorted oath is hateful to God." Ulrich must do like Samson, who had been obliged to wait until his hair grew again, and had then been able to fall on the Philistines with all his might.' In the matter of religion he advised him to leave things as they stood, and to 'be guided by circumstances and let God work.'[2]

At the meeting in Augsburg the only question raised was, whether Würtemberg was to be conquered for Duke Ulrich, or for his son Christopher. Philip was exerting himself in behalf of the former, Eck for the latter, in the name of his Dukes. The French

[1] Muffat, pp. 361–363. Already on August 7, 1533, the English ambassador, Mont, wrote from Nuremberg to Henry VIII.: 'Si dissoluta fuerit [liga Suevica], multorum opinio est, ducem Wirtenbergensem in suum ducatum restitutum iri.' *State Papers*, vii. 50

[2] Letter from Friedewald, April 17, 1532. Heyd, ii. 383.

ambassador, who took the lead in the transactions, made a declamatory speech in Latin in favour of Christopher to the assembled notables, and Eck thanked him 'for the good will of France towards Germany.' 'It is astonishing,' wrote one of King Ferdinand's commissioners, who was present at the Diet, to the Würtemberg government, 'to what an extent, and in great measure openly, things are going against the King. The Frenchman is taking a leading part in affairs, and would gladly foment a war in Germany; if he does not openly supply troops he gives money at any rate, in order to set the Germans one against the other. We have most earnestly entreated his Majesty to prepare for defence against his enemies; for it is no longer a question of merely recovering the territory of Würtemberg, but of an attack to be made on his Majesty.'

During the proceedings at Augsburg the Landgrave Philip had betaken himself to the French King at Bar-le-Duc, in Lorraine, and on January 27 had concluded a secret treaty with him in favour of Ulrich. Whereas Francis I. in his treaties of peace with the Emperor had repeatedly and solemnly promised never in any way to support Ulrich against the Imperial House, 'it now required careful consideration for him to determine in what way he could secretly help the Duke.' [1] The result of his deliberations was that Ulrich sold him the earldom of Montbéliard, a fief of the Empire, and also the lordship of Blamond, and the three Burgundian feudal lordships of Granges, Clerval, and Passavant, for the sum of 125,000 crowns. In the event of the war being protracted, Francis I. promised

[1] See the report of a French agent in Capefigue's *Histoire de la Réforme*, i. 156–157 note.

Ulrich an additional present of 75,000 crowns. Neither party, it was emphatically stated in the treaty, was to come to an agreement with the enemy without the consent of the other. Philip engaged to be in the field eight days after Easter. To his special delight he also received from the French King a satisfactory assurance with reference to the Council contemplated by the Pope.

Out of gratitude for what the Landgrave had effected, Ulrich promised him loyalty and fidelity, and pledged himself also to recoup the expenses of the war. 'And if it should come to pass,' so ran the words of his agreement, 'that we both of us extend our operations and take possession of any castles, towns, provinces, or other property outside the principality of Würtemberg, we and our heirs shall have equal rights in the same.'

It was certainly the wish of the French King that the war should not be limited to the conquest of Würtemberg. An attack on the Austrian dominions and on Lombardy was to follow. Francis I. was full of hope. The Suabian League was dissolved, he told Zapolya's agent on Easter Monday; he was sending money to Germany, and he had many friends there, and allies, who were already armed; Zapolya would soon be able to conclude peace on his own terms.[1]

On January 28, the day after the conclusion of the treaty of Bar-le-Duc, the league formed with the French crown at Scheyern was renewed by the delegates of the confederate princes at Augsburg. 'Appealing to the Most High God, without whose approval nothing

[1] Ranke, iii. 326.

could be auspiciously begun and nothing could be accomplished,' the confederates protested that they must protect themselves against those 'who thought they had a right to appropriate everything and subdue all things to their own arbitrary caprices.' Francis I. promised to stand by his allies in the event of a war for the defence or assertion of 'German freedom,' to induce the King of England to join in it, and in conjunction with the latter to defray half, or at any rate a third, of the costs of the war; or even to pay up a third without any contribution from England. If he (the King of France) were assailed in his kingdom, or his dignity, the Princes were to be ready, at his request, to put an army in the field for him. Bavaria and Hesse subscribed to these conditions; but not so the Elector John Frederic of Saxony. It was all in vain that Philip of Hesse represented to the latter how ready the French King was 'to restore the empire of the German nation to the possession of its ancient prestige, liberties, and traditions.' John Frederic would have nothing more to do with France, and would not consent to take part in Philip's war on behalf of Ulrich; he warned the Landgrave against such a breach of his oath to maintain the *Landfriede*. Luther and Melanchthon also implored Philip not to bring disgrace on the Gospel by violent procedure, and to beware of 'breaking and disturbing the general peace of the Empire.' Philip waxed angry and indignant at these admonitions. He told the Elector that 'his wisdom would not reach to such a point, and that he (John Frederic) would end by being drawn into the game. If things go ill with me it will bring little comfort to your Grace.' The Elector of Saxony was nothing of a soldier, he

complained to the Dukes of Bavaria; 'he prefers helping with words.'[1]

While preparations were going on in Germany for a campaign on behalf of Ulrich, the Dukes of Bavaria addressed fresh exhortations to Zapolya to lose not a moment in commencing a war against Ferdinand, 'who had no money and no supporters,' and 'to raise funds from the Turks,' in order that the attack from the side of Germany might be made more expeditiously. Through a confidential agent of Zapolya the Dukes received the joyful tidings that 'England was in the highest measure hostile to the Emperor Charles, and was ready to furnish any amount of money or troops in order to bring disaster on him;' the Dukes therefore had only to despatch an ambassador without delay to Henry VIII., and they would obtain from him whatever they wished for; the Landgrave Philip was already in treaty with France and England for a large sum of money with which to build three fortresses. The Landgrave had sent two envoys to the French King with instructions to make him understand that it would be impossible to move the Bavarian Dukes to an attack on Kufstein

[1] Bucholtz, iv. 196–197; Rommel, i. 331–332, ii. 291, and iii. 55. See Luther's *Collected Works*, lxi. 332, where there is mention of a meeting between Philip and John Frederic at Weimar, at which Luther and Melanchthon were also present. Philip, in a postscript to the letter in which he reports this meeting to Ulrich of Würtemberg, adds the interesting information: 'Item: I wish to inform your Grace that I drank very hard at Weimar; but I kept my legs and set the Elector so drunk that with difficulty he found the door and vomited. Item: I have paid a heavy penalty for it; for I have lost my health and am quite sick.' Heyd, ii. 395, note 47. See also Hassencamp, i. 338, 340. Later on Philip accused the Elector of Saxony that 'while he was busy in the Duchy of Würtemberg' the Elector and Duke George of Saxony 'would willingly have seized our land and people.' Philip's letter to Bucer of July 24, 1540, in Lenz, *Correspondence between Philip and Bucer*, p. 204.

and other places in the Tyrol, for the Dukes were not masters in their dominions, as he was; they could not make war without the knowledge and consent of their people; and therefore the matter now rested chiefly with him.

Eck handed over to the Landgrave, for the military preparations in Germany, 30,000 out of the 100,000 crowns paid down by Francis I. at Munich, but only on condition that 5,000 of them should be given back to him as remuneration. After the receipt of this sum of money he swore an oath to Philip that he would serve him for evermore.[1]

As the French King had contributed the largest share of the money for the preparations, it was only natural that most of the generals and soldiers in the Landgrave's army should, as the Emperor pointed out, designate themselves the servants of France.[2] Henry VIII. of England also, Christian of Holstein, and several German princes gave the Landgrave supplies of money. Thus in a short time Philip was able with very little trouble, and under pretence of marching against the Anabaptists at Münster, to levy 5,000 infantry and from 4,000 to 5,000 cavalry. Count William von Fürstenberg gathered together several thousand Landsknechts from the army of the disbanded Suabian League, and the French King and the Duke of Lorraine

[1] See Stumpf, i. 14. Duke Ulrich, later on, begged Duke William of Bavaria to force Eck, 'the perfidious rascal,' to refund this ill-gotten money; for France was holding him to his engagement to pay back the full sum advanced for him. When Eck wrote, in justifying himself, that Ulrich should turn for redress to Philip of Hesse, who had honoured him with the gift, Ulrich branded the Chancellor as a 'mendacious, false, disloyal man and selfish adventurer.' Stumpf, 265–266.

[2] Despatch of the Emperor, May 19, 1634, in Sudendorf's *Registrum*, iii. 226.

sent a few companies, so that at least 20,000 foot soldiers, well armed and supplied with provisions, were able to be placed in the field. 'Such a body of troops,' Philip wrote to the French King, 'has verily never before been collected together in Germany with such haste.'[1] Whoever had advised Philip to undertake this campaign against his imperial Majesty, Philip's hereditary lord, with the help of the bitterest foe of the German nation, the King of France, wrote Duke George of Saxony to his daughter the Landgravine Christine, 'could not be a well-wisher to the Landgrave's territory and subjects or to his honour and well-being.'[2]

Philip invested the undertaking with the character of a religous war. It was to serve the cause of the Gospel. The South German towns, the Landgrave told the Strasburgers, would have a strong champion in Ulrich; for the latter 'would plant the Gospel in Suabia.' Bible texts were inscribed on the banners of the army, and Ulrich was celebrated in a battle-song in the following lines:—

> By Christ and by his word to stand,
> Thou dost a mighty host command;
> The wolf thou drivest from the land.

In order to justify their warlike measures Philip and Ulrich, before the opening of the campaign, sent out a manifesto on April 12, 1534, in which they announced that 'they had taken up arms for the sole purpose of recovering for Ulrich, and for his son, the principality of which he had been unlawfully deprived; beyond the attainment of this object they had no intention of raising war or insurrection, or of doing injury

[1] Wille's *Philipp der Grossmüthige*, p. 170.
[2] *Ibid.* pp. 150-151.

to anybody. If, however, any one should hinder them in their righteous undertaking, and thus cause the task of recuperation to extend its limits, or if any other mischances should occur, the blame would attach to those who set themselves up to withstand justice.'

King Ferdinand answered this manifesto in a despatch from Prague on April 29. He justified the deposition of the Duke, which had been effected by the Suabian League and ratified by the Emperor, and also the transference of the territory to the Emperor, and his own investiture with it afterwards by the Emperor.

'In order, however, that neither Ulrich nor any one else should be able to assert that he was withholding anything from them unjustly, and as he had no intention to defraud anybody, he proposed to the Duke to allow him a fair and legal trial in the presence of the Emperor and of a committee of impartial princes of the Empire, among whom he specified particularly the Elector Louis of the Palatinate and Duke George of Saxony.' 'It was self-evident, at any rate, that it was by no means suitable for the Landgrave and Duke Ulrich to take action as they were doing, and that they had no legal warrant for constituting themselves arbiters of their own affairs and for taking the executive into their own hands. Whether it became the Landgrave as a prince of the Empire to commit such a violation of the *Landfriede*, and to be the aider and abettor of a declared outlaw, it was for his own conscience and for the public to decide.'

Philip and Ulrich treated with supreme contempt both the Emperor's orders to the Estates of the realm to engage in no enterprise against himself and his brother.

and the penal injunctions of the Imperial Chamber respecting infringement of the *Landfriede*. One of the messengers, whose business it was to promulgate the Emperor's commands, was detained in Cassel with all his letters until the Landgrave commenced his campaign; at Strasburg, Count William von Fürstenberg threatened another messenger with the punishment of mutineers (*i.e.* the halter) if he distributed his letters in the camp. Ulrich declared that he was not aware of a sentence of outlawry having been passed on him by the Emperor; but if it were so it was unjust and went for nothing. To Ferdinand's despatch Philip and Ulrich made answer, after they had already set out on their march, that there was nothing in the King's letter but what they had already refuted long ago, and therefore they had no intention of entering into further discussion; they were under no obligation to accept the proposal for a trial before Ulrich had been reinstated in his principality. Philip considered himself sufficiently justified in his proceedings by the expressed opinion of his preachers and jurists that the restoration of Ulrich was an honourable undertaking, in accordance with the *Landfriede*, and unpunishable.

Circumstances were now more favourable to the enterprise than they had ever been before.

The Emperor, it is true, was fully resolved 'in all seriousness to resist and suppress the criminal action and proceedings of the Landgrave and his adherents, and, for the sake of the welfare and tranquillity of the Empire, to punish them in such a manner that in future years no one else would dare to take pattern by their example.' But from Spain, where Charles was at the time, he could carry out no effectual measures.

100,000 florins which he sent Ferdinand by bills of exchange at short notice arrived too late.[1]

Ferdinand himself, simultaneously threatened by the Turks and Zapolya, was destitute of money and support. The Austrian government in Würtemberg, 'equally bare of resources,' could only make the feeblest preparations for defence. The troops they had collected with the utmost difficulty were scarcely half as numerous as the enemy's; to 4,000 or 5,000 cavalry they could only oppose from 400 to 500.[2]

The issue of the campaign could, therefore, scarcely be a matter of doubt.

On April 23, 1534, Philip and Ulrich set out with their army from Cassel, joined forces with Fürstenberg's troops at Pfungstadt, in the Odenwald, and pressed on by rapid march to Würtemberg. In an engagement at Laufen, on the Neckar, the Austrian army was defeated. After the very first encounter with the Hessian vanguard the Austrian troops sought means to cover their retreat and dispersed even before the Landgrave arrived with his 'formidable masses,' some in headlong flight, others in tolerable order with banners flying.

[1] See the Emperor's letter in Bucholtz, iv. 253. The Emperor and Ferdinand possessed information concerning the plans against Würtemberg as early as June 1533 (Lanz, *Staatspapiere*, p. 107). In June 1534 Pope Clement VII. said to Sanchez, Ferdinand's ambassador, who was in vain imploring pecuniary assistance: 'What is the Emperor doing now, or why did he not in good time make provision for your Majesty, when I myself and several others informed him of the Landgrave's movements?' (Bucholtz, *Urkundenbuch*, p. 251.) Sanchez's report also shows why the Pope, deceived by Philip as to the character of the war, refused all subsidies; he was circumvented by the supporters of the French King in the College of Cardinals. (Heyd, ii. 491, note.) See also Baumgarten, iii. 144, and regarding the anger which the Pope's conduct raised at the court of Ferdinand and among the staunchest friends of Rome see *Nuntiaturberichte*, I. i. 266, A. I. 267 ff., 271 ff.

[2] Wille's *Philipp der Grossmüthige*, pp. 175–176.

This single defeat decided the fate of Würtemberg. By the middle of June the whole country was already in possession of the conquerors. The opinion of the knight Johann von Fuchstein, for many years a servitor of Ulrich, that if Ulrich entered Würtemberg 'the people would resist him with great force, or that the majority would leave the country,' proved quite without foundation. The powerful Hessian army struck terror all round. Everywhere homage was paid to the old Duke. 'Bide, bide, bomp, der Herzog Ulrich kommt,'[1] sang the children in the streets. Philip pressed on as far as Daugendorf, on the Austrian frontier, and the nearest Habsburg and Tyrol lands, fearing invasion, sent delegates to sue for peace and mercy.

Luther and Melanchthon, fearing an unfortunate issue, had begun by dissuading the Landgrave from this undertaking, had begged him not to cover the Gospel—*i.e.* the new doctrines—with infamy, and not to break or disturb the public peace. Now, however, neither of them thought any more of disgrace to the Gospel and violation of the *Landfriede*, but paid in their tribute to the successful issue. On June 14, 1534, Luther wrote: 'God's hand is seen in this business.'[2] Melanchthon, who before the campaign had taken the strongest line against Philip,[3] now incited the humanist Eobanus Hessus to compose a song of triumph in honour of the victory. Eobanus

[1] 'Bide, bide, bomp, Duke Ulrich comes; his camp is in the fields, he brings a bag of gold.'

[2] De Wette, iv. 451.

[3] Letters of January 27 and February 6, 1534 (and one undated one), to Camerarius, *Corp. Reform.* ii. 700, 703, 706, 708, 728, and on the other hand that of May 14, *ibid.* ii. 729. See my pamphlet *An meine Kritiker*, p. 155 (new edition).

applied himself to the task. He wrote a 'congratulatory ode to the renowned hero Philip on the victory of Würtemberg,' and praised up this most facile conquest as one of the greatest achievements of all times.

'What glorious tidings of victory, what trumpet notes of applause are sounding throughout Germany! Hark: it is the praises of the noble hero in whose land the goddess of victory now joyfully unfolds her wings. How can we worthily celebrate thy fame, O thou mighty hero, even had we the tongues of the famous singers of old? We can do no less than if we were singing of Hercules, telling first of the serpent in the cradle, and ending with the funeral pile on Mount Œta.' He compared the Landgrave's expedition to Alexander's march across the Granicus and to Hannibal's across the Alps. 'Like unto a Hannibal didst thou stride over immeasurable heights. . . . Then the Neckar was more bloody than once on a time the Simois and the Scamander. And this glorious victory cost thee no single life.' But greater even than Philip's valour was his generosity; 'in the loftiness of his soul he was like unto a Scipio, a Cæsar. His deeds were worthy of immortality.'[1]

As soon as the Emperor received intelligence of the course the war had taken he sent off an ambassador with large supplies of money to put an army in the field and to punish the violators of the *Landfriede*. Ferdinand, however, who was fully informed as to the fighting power of his enemies and their wide-spread

[1] Krause, ii. 178-182. Eobanus was rewarded for his poem by a handsome present from the Landgrave and the promise of a speedy appointment in Hesse. At the end of the year 1536 Eobanus was appointed to the University of Marburg. Krause, ii. pp. 183-190.

alliances, especially with the French and the Turks, would not risk the possession of Hungary and of his hereditary dominions on the chances of war. He gave full credence to the report that Philip, after Würtemberg, would appear as an armed opponent of his election, and would set up either the French Dauphin or himself, or Duke William of Bavaria, as rival competitor for the imperial throne; he believed also that Philip contemplated allying himself with the Anabaptists and stirring up the whole nation to revolt against the Emperor.[1]

Ferdinand therefore resolved to accept the offers of the Elector of Saxony and other princes to negotiate an amicable agreement, which should include the settlement of the dispute concerning the recognition of Ferdinand as King of the Romans. On June 29 a treaty of peace was concluded at Cadan, in Bohemia. By this treaty the Religious Peace of Nuremberg of the year 1532 was renewed, and it was agreed that all the decrees issued by the Imperial Chamber against the Estates mentioned in the 'Instrument of Peace' should be annulled. By the terms of the treaty these Estates were to be allowed free exercise of their religion, but they were to introduce no further innovations; the sacramentarians (Zwinglians) and the Anabaptists were not to be tolerated. The Elector of Saxony and his associates recognised Ferdinand as King of the Romans. Ferdinand would not give up his right over Würtemberg, which the Emperor had bestowed on him as a fief, but he consented to Ulrich's holding the land as an *arrière-fief* of Austria, yet with a seat and a vote in the Imperial Government.

[1] See 'Comision secreta dada por el rey de Romanos,' in Döllinger's *Documente*, p. 10.

The Landgrave and Ulrich were required to promise that they would ask forgiveness 'on bended knee' of the Emperor and of the Roman King for their violation of the *Landfriede*. The apologies to the Emperor were to be made in person, those to Ferdinand through delegates. Further, all districts and sundry possessions not appertaining to the land of Würtemberg, which had been included in the conquest of Würtemberg, were to be restored to their lawful princes and lords. 'Also all persons within and without the principality, together with the prince-abbots, settled in the land and enjoying their special immunities and rights, though not belonging to the principality, as well as the subjects and dependents of the latter, are to be left in the free exercise of their religion, and to be allowed to receive their rents and taxes: all this according to the contents and tenour of the imperial recess.'

Duke Ulrich hesitated long before agreeing to this treaty. He complained of the Landgrave to the French King and went on hoping for help from France, from Zapolya, from the Venetians, from another *Bundschuh*. A serious dispute threatened to break out between him and Philip. 'If the Duke did not ratify the treaty,' Philip intimated to him towards the end of the year, 'he would not help him any longer; his people would not consent to another war.' Ulrich, moreover, would not have a single prince on his side; France was only seeking her own advantage; Zapolya, likewise, cared only for himself; the Venetians, so he heard, were a false and treacherous people, and it was for this reason that he had refused to have any dealings with them. The Duke could not place any

reliance on his own peasants; to trust to a *Bundschuh* did not become his dignity; it was to be feared that the peasants, and others, would attempt his life. At last, yielding to necessity, Ulrich signed the Treaty of Cadan on February 15, 1535.

'The bagful of gold' of which the children sang in the streets was not brought into the country by the Duke, but instead of it an enormous heap of debts which he had accumulated during his fifteen years' banishment. The payment of these debts, the recoupment of more than 200,000 florins to the Landgrave for war costs, the rebuilding of several fortresses, the levying of troops, and the extravagant expenditure of the ducal court became heavy burdens on the people. 'The taxation of the poor folk after 1535 was beyond all measure, and it was cruelly and mercilessly enforced; want and misery grew to be their daily portion.'

The ambiguously worded religious article of the Treaty of Cadan forthwith became a matter of contention between King Ferdinand and Duke Ulrich. According to the treaty, so Ferdinand declared, the Duke was bound to leave all persons within and without the principality in the exercise of their own religion; in opposition to this stipulation, however, he was helping on enormously the spread of the Lutheran sect, and he had appointed 'preachers holding the heretical doctrines, by whom the Christian people were being led away from their holy religion.'[1] Ulrich, Saxony,

[1] Ferdinand's letter of August 18, 1534, to Archbishop Albert of Mayence and Duke George of Saxony, in Sattler's *Geschichte des Herzogthums Würtemberg unter der Regierung der Herzoge*, iii. 122–123, Beil. 17. The imperial envoy, Johann von Weeze, titular archbishop of Lund, wrote to the Emperor on October 1 and November 12,

and Hesse, on the other hand, maintained resolutely that the Article in question did not refer to the 'subjects and dependents' of the Duke, but merely to the foreign princes and lords who had possessions in Würtemberg, and to the prince-abbots established in the land. Had not the Elector of Saxony, Ulrich said, given him to understand through his marshal, Johann von Dolzig, 'that our consciences are to be left free and unharassed in matters of religion, and that we have authority to let the Gospel be preached and Christian divine ordinances be carried on amongst our subjects, and that we are not in any way bound in these matters by the treaty?'

Ulrich, however, was most certainly guilty of violation of the treaty in propagating, as he did, in Upper Würtemberg, by means of the preacher Ambrosius Blarer, 'as a new standard of faith,' the doctrines of Zwingli, which had again been emphatically interdicted by the treaty of Cadan. On December 12, 1534, Ferdinand wrote to Saxony and Hesse that 'his Majesty had been informed that the Duke had appointed preachers who were advocates of the insurrectionary Zwinglian doctrines and who harassed and molested such persons as came under the description of "settlers in the land, not belonging to the principality, but possessing separate rights and privileges."'

'Out of gratitude to God for his happy reinstatement,' Ulrich declared, 'he felt himself bound to convert his people to the new faith; for the success of the

1534: 'Ulricus dux jam contravenit pactus concordie [of Cadan], ac Lutheranismum et, ut aliqui dicunt, Zwinglii opinionem publice praedicari facit . . .' Lanz, *Correspondenz*, ii. 129, 143.

campaign was a sure sign that God looked with favour on the Protestant religion.' He spread throughout the country the report that he was acting with 'the knowledge and consent' of King Ferdinand, so much so that the latter was compelled to come forward and contradict these 'false and baseless statements,' and to enjoin his subjects in the lordship of Hohenberg 'to continue loyally in the old and true Christian religion.' Ulrich carried on systematic violent suppression of the Catholic faith. He abolished monasteries and convents, ejected monks and nuns, and invited Protestant preachers into the country. The Bavarian agent Hans Werner wrote to the Chancellor Eck on January 14, 1536, concerning the treatment of cloisters: 'It is the common saying at Augsburg and Ulm and in all the other Lutheran districts (and it is said in all honesty and good faith) that even if the monks and nuns in the land of Würtemberg were devils and not human beings, still Duke Ulrich should not treat them in such an unchristian, inhuman, and tyrannical manner.'

'The Christian godly ordinances' of which Ulrich had talked began with sacking churches right and left. The confiscation of Church property, he said, was 'a duty attached to his office, and enjoined by his conscience.' In no other Protestant country was there such unscrupulousness in this respect as in Würtemberg. Even Bucer complained that the Duke in his covetousness thought of nothing save ransacking churches.[1] The preacher Edward Schnepf, who was an active Lutheran propagandist in the Unterland, was specially blamed by his co-religionists for having incited the

[1] De Bussière's *Développement*, i. 209.

Duke to reckless squandering of Church property. At a religious conference at Worms they insisted that he should be called to account. Schnepf begged for time for deliberation, and then, 'to the shame and disgrace of all evangelicals,' evaded the question by flight.

Churches were robbed of their treasures wholesale by Ulrich, who even resorted to force of arms to get possession of the coveted goods, as, for instance, at Alpirsbach, Herrenalb, and St. Georgen, near Villingen, At Herrenalb, in October 1535, 30 horsemen and from 70 to 80 foot-soldiers appeared, 'equipped with armour, guns, halberds, and other weapons, as though they were going to engage in warfare,' and fired off their guns inside and outside the sacred buildings. They carried off all the costly Mass vestments, all the gold and silver monstrances, chalices, crosses, and other treasures of art. All these objects consecrated to God, says an old report, 'they bundled into sacks, as shoemakers throw in their lasts, and carried them away on their backs.' All divine service was put a stop to, all the monastic property confiscated, and the inmates dispersed by force. The abbot was thrown into prison by Ulrich in March 1536, under the charge of having possessed himself of large sums out of the revenues of the monastery, and he died in captivity. In St. Georgen the vaults were broken open, all the treasures removed, and the monks turned out. They were not even allowed to take away with them the beds and mattresses which they had brought into the monastery; through the cold and the snow the 'outcasts' went in a melancholy troop to Rottweil. But the convents fared worst of all. The nuns of St. Clara at Pfullingen, for instance,

were, by order of the Duke, 'persecuted and tyrannically treated for eleven years, in order that they might be brought to accept the Gospel, and to do homage to the Duke as their rightful head, both in temporal and spiritual matters.' 'Day by day they were compelled to endure abuse and mockery, slander, derision, and insults from the Lutheran steward and others of the sect.' The convent church was completely destroyed. During all these eleven years the sisters were deprived of the service of Mass and the Holy Sacrament, and all religious books; eleven of them died without the consolations of religion. But in spite of all privations and distress not one of the nuns let herself be persuaded to abjure the faith. Nearly all the other sisterhoods of the land also remained true to their vows. The proselytisers complained that 'the Gospel made no headway with these stiff-necked, blinded women.'[1]

'It cannot be denied,' so the delegates of the South German Protestant towns complained to the Landgrave Philip in May 1535, 'that Ulrich is behaving somewhat ungraciously and cruelly as a ruler; that he gives little heed to weighty and important business; that he lays himself open to reproach in matters of religion; and that he is acting in opposition to the Peace of Nuremberg, so that there is good reason to fear that banishment or some other punishment will overtake him.'

Ten years later the delegates of the town of Esslingen,

[1] A modern historian of Würtemberg describes the procedure adopted at the suppression of the cloisters as 'severe indeed in individual cases, but on the whole considerate,' 'for,' he says in justification of his opinion, 'the steadfast nuns, though deprived of divine worship, were left in their cloisters till death.' Schneider, p. 145.

with which Ulrich was at strife, said: 'Nobody is loyal to the Prince; everybody denounces him, and it seems as if his ruin were at hand. God grant it may be so.'

After the fashion of most of the German princes Ulrich was given up to the pleasures of the chase and other amusements. 'All the many and wealthy Church lands of which he took forcible possession were turned to no good account, and all the immense revenues were squandered in eating, drinking, and luxury.' The Duke's debts increased from year to year till they amounted to between 25 and 30 million marks, according to the present value of money.

In Würtemberg, as elsewhere, the dissolution of the old Church organisation and discipline had resulted in the growing demoralisation of the people.

By main force the Duke had established Protestant doctrines and forms of worship as the religion of the land, and had inflicted severe penalties on all who opposed them.[1] But the preachers who poured in from all quarters, or were invited into the country, met for the most part with an ill reception. His parishioners were altogether refractory, said a Swiss preacher, Jörg Distel, officiating at Entringen; 'they reviled and derided him; and this indeed was the fate of nearly all the

[1] In the spring of 1536 it was proclaimed in the market-place of Stuttgart that 'every one shall attend the Protestant preaching at least once on all Sundays and holy days under penalty of 10 shillings for the first delinquency; for the second and each succeeding offence the penalty shall be one gulden, or in lieu thereof four days and nights to be passed in the tower on bread and water. The like penalty shall be incurred by those who assist at a Mass outside the territory.' See Heyd, iii. 176. Nevertheless as late as the years 1537 and 1538 the city magistrates in Stuttgart and Calw were preponderatingly Catholic. See Schnurrer, *Erläuterungen*, p. 176. Of the nineteen parish priests in the 'Vogtei' of Tübingen seven (the most of them useless) went over to the new religion. Heyd, iii. 89, note.

other preachers.' In the case of many of them, and their wives also, wrote Myconius in 1539, they themselves were to blame, by reason of their drunken, immoral lives, for the contempt with which they were treated by the people.[1]

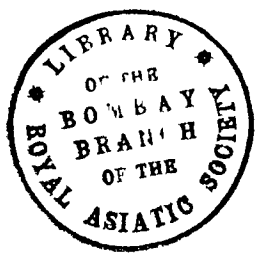
Thirty years later the general condition of the country was described as follows by no less weighty an authority than the celebrated theologian Jacob Andreä, provost of Tübingen and chancellor of the university. 'He saw no traces of improvement,' he said, owing to the Gospel, but only dissolute, epicurean, bestial living; nothing but gluttony, drunkenness, covetousness, pride, and blasphemy. The people were saying everywhere: 'We have learnt that we can be saved by faith alone in Christ, who atoned for all our sins by his death; we cannot atone for sin by fasting, almsgiving, prayer, or other works, so let us have done with all these things.' 'And in order that all the world may see that they are not popish, and that they do not rely on good works, they abstain altogether from good conduct of any sort. Instead of fasting they eat and drink all day and all night; instead of giving alms they oppress the poor; instead of praying they curse and blaspheme the name of Christ more abominably

[1] '. . . inde populus agit tam petulanter ac impie, ut nec blasphemiis, nec licentiae bibendi, libidinandi et ferociendi modus positus sit.' In Heyd, iii. 89, note. On Ash Wednesday in the year 1539 the spiritual and civil rulers of Tübingen, in conjunction with the professors at the university, organised a festive ceremony at the city hall, for the purpose of 'eating meat, drinking, jumping, and dancing; and the community was forbidden to observe the fast.' At the university 'drinking ran riot.' From the autumn of 1540 till the Lent of 1541 four hundred persons drank themselves to death in Würtemberg. Sattler, iii. 'Beil.' p. 148. With regard to the condition of things at the university of Tübingen see my pamphlet *Aus dem deutschen Universitätsleben des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Frankfort a. M., 1886), pp. 25–31.

even than the Turks. All this is called "evangelical." And, moreover, these poor people persuade themselves that their hearts are full of true faith in God, and that they are better than the idolatrous papists.' 'The vices of gluttony and drunkenness have increased from day to day.' 'Our pious forefathers, under the rule of the papacy, as I have again and again heard from the lips of old folks, never appointed drunkards to any public offices; these sinners were shunned and fled from by all classes of society.' 'Such were the views of our honoured parents, whom the light of the Gospel did not guide as clearly as it does us.' Nowadays drunkenness is considered no disgrace, either among the upper or the lower classes, and those who ought to put a stop to it by good example and by severe punishment are themselves the worst offenders. 'Furthermore,' Andreä goes on to say, 'the terrible sin of blasphemy is quite common among all classes, with women as well as men, with young and old, and even with little children who can scarcely speak plainly; and this certainly was not the case with our ancestors. For cursing such as has now become common was never heard in their days, and anybody who was guilty of the offence, even in a much milder form, was shut up in prison and severely punished.' Andreä was full of the most dismal apprehensions for the future. 'It has, unfortunately, come to that fatal pass with us,' he says, 'that we have all become prophets. For whenever two or three come together and exchange complaints regarding the condition of affairs on earth, and particularly among us Germans, all these unite in proclaiming that things cannot endure thus any longer, but must break in pieces; for all things are in imminent danger,

scarcely any fear of God among the people; little or no honesty or faith: injustice has everywhere gained the upper hand; we shall inevitably be punished.'[1]

[1] *Erinnerungen nach dem Lauf der Planeten gestellt* (Tübingen, 1568), pp. 22, 49, 140, 146, 181, 191, 202; *Dreizehn Predigten vom Türken* (Tübingen, 1569), pp. 106 *sq.* See Döllinger, *Reformation*, ii. 375–378.


LIBRARY
OF THE
BOMBAY
BRANCH
OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

CHAPTER VI

GERMAN-FRENCH—FRENCH AND TURKS IN OPPOSITION TO THE EMPEROR AND THE EMPIRE, 1534–1537

NEITHER the King of France nor the Sultan nor the Dukes of Bavaria were satisfied with the Peace of Cadan.

In spite of the express stipulation of the Treaty of Bar-le-Duc that no one party should enter into agreement 'with the enemy' without the knowledge and consent of the other, Philip of Hesse had agreed to the Peace of Cadan against the wishes of the French King, who insisted that the war against Ferdinand's hereditary dominions should be continued, and who had called on the corsair chieftain Chaireddin and on the Voyvode Zapolya to take up arms respectively against the Emperor and against Ferdinand. In August 1534 Philip explained to the King the reasons which had prevented him 'making war on Ferdinand in his hereditary dominions.' 'He could not adequately explain,' he said, 'how seriously and emphatically he had been warned against undertaking this campaign by all the Electors and Princes of the Holy Empire.' 'There were such endless plottings and schemings going on that we could not have remained tranquil in our own land if we had entered into further negotiations away from our country and our people. We should have had

the Emperor, the House of Burgundy, the Italian League, and many other potentates and States against us, and we should have been drawn into a long protracted foreign war, while at the same time we should have been compelled to maintain an army at home for the defence of the Fatherland, which would have been impossible without substantial assistance.' 'We had hoped that Saxony and Bavaria would have allied themselves with us, but they refused to do so on various pretexts, and blamed us severely for having undertaken this campaign and for having meditated further aggression, as though they themselves were likely to be injured thereby.'[1]

Francis I. was not sparing in his reproaches of the Landgrave and his adherents, and much opprobrious language was heard at the French court. 'The German prince had deceived the King for the sake of his money and had conquered a country with foreign gold.' So spoke a French ambassador at Zapolya's court in the presence of many Hungarian magnates and of the Bavarian agent Weinmeister. The latter, in great alarm, reported this speech to his Dukes, adding, however, for their comfort, that Zapolya had taken up their cause against the ambassador, to whom he had said Bavaria 'was not to blame for Philip's having formed a compact with Ferdinand; the Dukes were the only princes who took the right course in all matters, and he placed more reliance on them than on any sovereign or prince in Christendom.' 'To which I answered,' wrote Weinmeister: '"I expect that the King of France will be well pleased with your Graces also, after his ambassadors have got all they want from your Graces."'[2]

[1] In Rommel, iii. 61-66.

[2] Muffat, pp. 465-470.

Zapolya's agent, Isidore of Zegliaso, wrote to Philip of Hesse and to the Bavarian Dukes that the Sultan was just as much displeased as was Francis I. because the confederate army had not pressed on to invade Austria, as had been expected.[1]

The Dukes were dissatisfied with the 'inactivity' of Zapolya. After the conquest of Würtemberg, they urged on him, on May 30, 1534, the time was most opportune for him to engage in war against Ferdinand. They themselves unfortunately, now that the peace of Cadan had been concluded and Saxony and Hesse had recognised King Ferdinand, could no longer maintain their hostile attitude towards the latter. Yielding to the reiterated entreaty of the Emperor, they had now declared themselves willing to come to 'honourable terms' with Ferdinand.

The Bavarian idea of 'honourable terms' was soon to come to light.

During these negotiations, which were opened at Linz and conducted, on the side of Bavaria, by the Chancellor Eck and Hans Weissenfelder, the most trusted of Duke Louis's counsellors, the latter wrote to his masters on August 28, 1534, that 'he and Eck had gathered thus much from the Imperial Ambassador, the Archbishop of Lund, that the Emperor was apprehensive of a war with France, and that Ferdinand wished at all costs to retain Hungary; that the Emperor and the King were therefore anxious to come to an understanding with the Dukes, in order that the latter should not contract an alliance either with France or with Hungary. Hence it was the advice both of himself and of Eck that all that took place at Linz

[1] Bucholtz, iv. 272–273.

should be reported to the French King, 'in order to avert all suspicion on the part of Francis I. and to make a fresh amicable start with him.' Zapolya must also be informed of the proceedings, but 'under the greatest scerecy;' for the Dukes must bear in mind how greatly our transactions would suffer if any one got knowledge of them here.' Philip of Hesse also expressed the wish in a letter to Eck on August 29 that, in spite of the treaty of Cadan, France and Bavaria should be kept on good terms; he would hear Zapolya's message, he said, and pass it on to Bavaria.[1]

On September 11, 1534, a treaty was concluded at Linz between Austria and Bavaria, according to which peace was to exist in future between the two countries, and the friendship was to be confirmed by a marriage between Prince Albert of Bavaria and a daughter of Ferdinand. Ferdinand was recognised by the Dukes as King of the Romans.

In spite of all treaties, however, the Bavario-Hessian conspiracies against the Emperor and the King went on continuously.

In the very same month in which the treaty of Linz was concluded Eck wrote to the Landgrave Philip: 'If your Grace should feel inclined, in spite of all treaties, to secure an advantageous position with regard to the future, I will undertake to prevail on my gracious lord to confer with your Grace privately in this matter, by means of secret trustworthy councillors, and to decide how best to proceed.'[2] The Dukes themselves assured the French King on September 25 that they would exert themselves to arrange an alliance with the Landgrave and other princes, which should be

[1] Muffat, pp. 393-395. [2] *Ibid.* pp. 413-414.

advantageous to the crown of France. Three months later, on Christmas Day, they again held out hopes to Francis I. that Hesse and Würtemberg, if they could obtain money from the Turks or elsewhere, would undertake an expedition against Austria. They urged the King to help on this invasion of the Austrian dominion. Through Jörg Frank, a Bavarian soldier who was levying German troops for France to fight against the Emperor, the Dukes received the news that Francis I. was ready to join and to protect the new alliance which Bavaria intended to contract with other German princes, and that he would keep 10,000 soldiers in readiness on his frontiers, and also contribute money supplies; the King begged that they would not refuse this proposal, by which the Dukes would obtain 100,000 crowns. If the proposed marriage of Prince Albert could be averted, the King would give him his own youngest daughter in marriage. Nuremberg must be excluded at first from the league, and then he would manage affairs in such a way as to compel the town to pay down 400,000 florins for permission to join the alliance. Francis I. would not rest until Duke William had been crowned King of the Romans. Holding up his right hand, he had declared that 'all his life long he had never met with more honourable and trustworthy princes than the two brothers of Bavaria; and that henceforth he was ready to risk body and soul in their interests.'

Zapolya also placed 'his soul and body' at the service of the Dukes. Saxony and Hesse, so the Dukes informed the Voyvode, had unfortunately allied themselves with Ferdinand and left Bavaria in the lurch. They themselves had now also concluded a treaty with

Ferdinand, but on 'extraordinarily honourable conditions,' so that they were not prevented from keeping their agreements with Zapolya, and with other friends, and from profiting by their help. They promised to use all their endeavours with the Landgrave to bring about between him and others an agreement which should be serviceable to the Voyvode. In October 1534 Philip declared that he was not indisposed to enter into an alliance with Zapolya, and expressed his astonishment to the latter that he should have agreed to an armistice with Ferdinand. In January 1535 the Dukes signified their willingness to supply the Voyvode with troops to fight against Ferdinand.[1]

To this Zapolya answered in February that 40,000 Turkish soldiers were at his disposal. If the Dukes with their allies were minded to make war on Ferdinand, he on his part was ready 'to lead a powerful army against Austria, Moravia, and Silesia.' If Ferdinand should besiege Buda, he would 'leave all the Turkish forces, both military and naval, lying at Pesth to harass Ferdinand's troops by day and by night,' while he himself would march with his army into Ferdinand's dominions and destroy all that came in his way.

In the following month the Pope sent a legate to beg the Voyvode to come to an understanding with Ferdinand, so that when general peace had been

[1] Despatch from the Dukes to George Weinmeister, January 25, 1535, and letter of the latter, February 20. Muffat, pp. 434–439. Eck was in constant terror lest King Ferdinand should get news of the secret 'proposals and intrigues,' and should complain of them to the Emperor and the Estates. See Eck's letters of Sept. 7, 1534, and January 1535, in Muffat, pp. 403, 433. The Bavarian intrigues were later on betrayed by a provost of Buda to the Archbishop of Lund at a banquet. Muffat, p. 483.

established it might be possible to make arrangements for holding a Council; whereupon Zapolya wrote to the Dukes that after this request of the Pope he could not refuse to send ambassadors to Vienna, whither the legate was about to journey. But neither then nor in the following year had Zapolya any serious intention of concluding peace. 'Notwithstanding that his commissioners to the Pope and the Emperor had negotiated for peace,' he intended, as he informed the Dukes for their comfort, 'in a short time to take active hostile measures of some sort against King Ferdinand.' He applied to Francis I. to know whether he might count on his helping him with 5,000 soldiers, or with equivalent subsidies, 'in which case he would not agree to any peace overtures.' The Bavarian agent Weinmeister, who reported all this to the Dukes, added that the Turks were making preparations on a large scale to advance against Naples and Sicily, and also against Moldavia.

When the French King found, after the Würtemberg campaign, that he could not succeed in moving his German allies to invade Ferdinand's hereditary dominions, he sent his agents round about Germany, in the last months of 1534, in order to stir up people to revolt against the Emperor. These emissaries were specially charged to inflame the Protestants by telling them that Charles meant to compel them by force of arms to return to the old religion and to punish them for their apostasy; the King of France would never tolerate such a proceeding, one of the agents declared at Memmingen in November, and he was endeavouring to form a league with the German towns, and would

afford them every possible help against the Emperor.[1] Francis I. caused troops to be levied in Germany, his chief agent for the purpose being Count William of Fürstenberg, whom he supplied with large sums of money.[2] He applied at the same time to the Turks for military subsidies against the Emperor; and instigated them to embark on a fresh invasion of the imperial dominions, both by land and water. 'The Most Christian King' made it known at Constantinople in February 1535 that no one was so capable of injuring the Emperor as was the ruler of France, for his country was rich in resources of every description, in soldiers and fortifications. Besides which he had powerful allies in the Kings of England, Scotland, and Denmark, in the Swiss Republic, the Duke of Guelders, and several German princes, notably his friend Ulrich of Würtemberg, whom he had reinstated in his duchy and whose land would furnish him with the very best German soldiers; in the duchy of Guelders he had already begun levying troops.[3] Francis I. also sketched out a plan of war for the Sultan, showing how the latter could best strike at the core of the German

[1] Letters in Lanz, *Correspondenz*, ii. 144, 152.

[2] See Archbishop Lund's despatch of December 16, 1534, in Lanz, ii. 155–156. 'Your Majesty,' writes the Archbishop to the Emperor, 'well knows the custom of German soldiers to give their services to the first bidder, without any but monetary considerations.' Shocking things are reported in the *Zimmerische Chronik*, iii. 416, concerning the immorality of that 'wonderful satyr' Count William of Fürstenberg. He made 100,000 crowns out of his campaign against the Emperor, but, as in the case of other Germans in French pay, the money was squandered and did not pass to his heirs. The French Connétable de Montmorency had said: 'Notwithstanding other virtues of the Germans, the best man in the country can be bought for money;' and, according to the *Chronik*, such was the fact (iii. 427).

[3] *Instruction du Sieur de la Forest, allant en ambassade devers le grant-Seigneur*, Paris, Feb. 11, 1534 (*i.e.* 1535), in Charrière, i. 260–262.

Empire.[1] The Swiss also had promised the French King their support,[2] and Ulrich of Würtemberg had armed all his people.[3] Philip of Hesse wrote to Francis I. that in spite of the Treaty of Cadan he would be true to his former engagement to him, and that he could promise him a portion of the troops commanded by the best captains that the Emperor Charles had ever had.[4] Marino Giustiniani, the Venetian ambassador at the French court, reported that 'at least 16,000 Landsknechts, so it was said, would be sent by Würtemberg and Hesse to Francis I. to fight against the Emperor.' The ambassador expressed his surprise that the King of France, in spite of all his promises to the Emperor, should join in such intrigues with German princes like Ulrich and Philip, who were both of them bad men and who depended solely on the help of France for keeping up their position and reputation.[5]

[1] The Sultan was advised not to direct his attack against Hungary, for then the Germans would undoubtedly come to the Emperor's assistance, but against Naples, Sicily, Sardinia, and Spain. 'Ce sera le toucher au vif et entreprinse aysée à mettre à chef, actendu mesmement que les Allemans ne se mouveront pour le péril de l'Italie, comme l'on sçait et veoit par l'expérience.' Charrière, i. 262, at the end of the *Instruction*. See preceding note.

[2] Lanz, *Correspondenz*, ii. 150.

[3] *Ibid.* ii. 143-144, 147, 150.

[4] '. . . Nous ne devons celler à V. M. que hier et d'autrefois il nous sont venues nouvelles que nous pouvons *vous assurer d'avoir une partie des gens de guerre* de tous les meilleurs capitaines que eut jamais l'empereur, dont il s'est aidé à l'encontre de votre ditte majesté, tellement que, grâce à Dieu, on en doit bien espérer.' Capefigue, *Histoire de la Réforme*, i. 157. To the imperial Vice-Chancellor, Naveo, Philip declared exactly the contrary! Lanz, p. 256.

[5] Albèri, Series I. i. 160-180. 'Vittenbergh e langravio d Assia, li quali in effetto sono mali uomini, e temono di Cesare per le molte querele avute o che potriano avere, non ponno fare, che sempre non aderiscano al re di Francia, come quello che li mantiene in stato e reputatione.'

Besides his alliances with the Sultan and with the German princes Francis I. had also concluded a truce with the corsair chieftain Chaireddin, surnamed Barbarossa, who had established himself firmly in Algiers and had been appointed by Solyman, who styled himself 'Caliph of Rome,' commander of the fleet. At the instigation and with the help of Francis I., Chaireddin, in July 1534, had ravaged the coasts of Italy, and later on had taken possession of Tunis.[1] In September the Bavarian Dukes received intelligence from Hungary, through their agent Weinmeister, that a Turkish messenger had appeared at Zapolya's court bringing a report that the Emperor had been defeated by Barbarossa at sea, and that 65 vessels, full of captive Christians, had been taken to Constantinople, which happy event Zapolya had been instructed to celebrate with firing of guns. And Zapolya had not been able to refuse 'these joyous demonstrations in honour of the thousands of Christians carried off into slavery.'[2]

The Emperor, pressed on all sides, and 'distressed by the misery of the people groaning under the terror of war, and by the threatened ruin of Christendom,' tried all possible means to incline the King of France to peace and 'to draw him away from his alliances with the German princes and the Turks.' Charles sent him word through his ambassadors that his alliance with Ulrich of Würtemberg and Philip of Hesse was at

[1] Charrière, i. 246-250. From different directions the Emperor wrote to Count Henry of Nassau on August 29, 1534, that he had received positive information that Barbarossa's army 'estoit venue à la poursuite, considération et faveur du dit roy de France et à la sollicitation d'ung ambassadeur qu'il avoit expressément devers le Turc . . . parquoy pouvez entendre tant plus, si j'ay occasion de me ressentir du dit S^r roy.' Weiss, ii. 170-171.

[2] Muffat, pp. 476-478.

variance with the treaties contracted with himself; besides which it was in no way becoming to the King to carry on intrigues with German princes against the Emperor and to stir up civil war in Germany; his alliance with the corsair chieftain seriously damaged his reputation as a Christian ruler; it would be far more fitting for him to unite his fleet with the Emperor's in order to resist the devastating inroads of the barbarians. In spite, however, of all that Francis I. had done, he, Charles, was heartily willing to come to an understanding with him and to enter into a close alliance. The Emperor declared himself ready to agree to anything that did not impugn his honour: he proposed a double marriage between his children and those of the King; he offered the King, for his son the Duke of Orleans, an annual income of 60,000 thalers out of the revenues of the duchy of Milan. The duchy itself, however, he said in his instructions to his envoy, Count Henry of Nassau, he could not cede to the King, for the latter had no right to it, whether by inheritance or by investiture; moreover the cession of Milan would be in opposition to the treaties of Madrid and Cambray, to the Italian truce and the prospect of general peace; it was essentially undesirable for the general welfare of Europe that France or Austria should possess this duchy.[1]

But Francis I., who wished to use the Turkish danger and the hostile attitude of the German confederates as weapons against the Emperor, demanded, in August 1534, not only Milan in return for a yearly sum of 20,000 or 25,000 thalers to be paid to Duke

[1] Documents in Weiss, ii. 107 ff.; Raumer, letters from Paris, i. 261–264.

Francis Sforza, but also Genoa and Asti.[1] 'In token of his great moderation' he declared to the imperial ambassador as his ultimatum that he would be satisfied if the Emperor would forthwith cede to him the marquisate of Montferrat with the towns of Alexandria, Genoa, and Asti, and all the strong places, and would guarantee that after the death of Sforza the whole duchy of Milan should be made over to him;[2] so determined was he, however, not to sever his alliance with the Turks that he actually declared to Clement VII. that he thought far more of encouraging the invasion of the Turks than of withstanding it.[3]

In order to destroy the Turkish robber-nests lying opposite the coasts of Europe, to which the Christians were carried off in multitudes to be treated like herds of cattle, the Emperor resolved, in June 1535, to make a strong attack on Tunis.[4] Fortune favoured this undertaking of his. After the seizure of the castle and the arsenal of Goletta there were found among the cannon taken from the enemy several stamped with the lilies of France. Tunis was captured and restored

[1] On September 4, 1534, the Emperor wrote to the Count of Nassau that Francis was not only laying claim to Milan, but 'maintenant il retourne dejà a conjoindre la seignorie de Gennes avec Milan et Ast, de laquelle il n'a jamais faict semblant ne mention quelconque . . . il est tout évident, que par raison, honnesteté, équité et bonne conscience ne luy en puis satisfaire.' Weiss, ii. 182, 183. In a memoir of Granvell's it says: 'Il persiste d'avoir ledit Gennes, dont il n'avait jamais fait semblant jusques à la venue du dit Barbarossa que convient aux propos que icelluy Barbarossa en a tenu et ce que l'on a sceu du coustel de Constantinoble' (p. 212).

[2] 'Finale response et resolution du roi,' Oct. 20–24, 1534, in Weiss, ii. 205.

[3] Ranke, iv. 9–10.

[4] Egelhaaf, ii. 191 ff. *Cat. De rebus in Africa a Carolo V gestis.* Paris, 1891. Castan, *La Conquête de Tunis.* Besançon, 1891.

to its rightful ruler, Muley-Hassan, as a fief of the Spanish crown; from 18,000 to 20,000 Christian slaves were liberated. This was a time of pure triumphant joy for Charles. And it was in these days of rejoicing that the thought first entered his mind to renounce all worldly power and retire to the solitude of a monastery.[1]

'We shall now proceed forthwith,' he wrote on August 16 to his ambassador at the French court, 'to put affairs in order in our kingdoms of Sicily and Naples, and to concentrate all our thoughts on the service of God, and on promoting the well-being of our holy faith and the tranquillity of the Christian republic, as has always been our aim and endeavour. It was, indeed, for this purpose only that we embarked on this campaign.'[2] After his brilliant success at Tunis the Emperor contemplated attacking Algiers in the following summer, and if possible taking possession of Constantinople itself, and thus rescuing Christendom from the Turkish yoke.

But Francis I. continued, as ever, to play the part of the evil demon.

Duke Sforza of Milan having died in the meantime, the Emperor showed himself disposed to accede to the proposal of the French Queen Eleanor and to make over the Duchy of Milan to the King's third son, the Duke of Angoulême. He hoped in this way to conciliate Francis I. and to gain his support in the war against Turkey, in furthering the convocation of a Council and the enforcement of the decrees that should be enacted by it, and in the restoration of Catholic unity.[3] Francis,

[1] Mignet, F. A. A., *Charles-Quint, son Abdication, son Séjour et sa Mort au Monastère de Saint-Juste.* Paris, 1854.

[2] Lanz, *Correspondenz*, ii. 201.

[3] Weiss, ii. 395.

however, stipulated that Milan should be given to his second son, the Duke of Orleans, and that he himself should at once be secured for his lifetime in possession of the revenues of the land. He also laid claim to Piedmont and Savoy, in order that he might keep the approaches to Italy in his own power. While assuring the Emperor through his ambassador that no active measures would be taken against Savoy,[1] he made a sudden incursion into this fief of the Empire in March 1536, in the midst of peace, and on April 3 occupied Turin. He gathered to himself Italian princes and towns and went on continuously levying troops in Italy and Germany: even the Dukes of Bavaria allowed him to levy troops in their dominions. At the same time, however, he denounced the Emperor and his brother everywhere as disturbers of the peace.

'The King of France,' wrote Charles, 'is seeking to persuade the Pope and the Cardinals that I and my brother in our self-seeking are to blame for all the evils and disasters in Christendom, both as regards religion and the Turkish danger; that we are passionately bent on war, and that we will not hear of the establishment of peace. I am still constantly reproached with striving after the dominion of the whole world, although all my actions, past and present, testify plainly to the contrary.'[2] 'I felt it to be my duty to exonerate myself.'

[1] '. . . promit tres expressement sur sa foy et sur son honneur, disant avoir charge ainsi le faire, que ledit s[r] roy son maistre ne mouvroit ny feroit riens alencontre dudit s[r] duc di Savoye.' Charles to Hannart, Lanz, *Correspondenz*, ii. 226.

[2] '. . . pareillement afin de nous justifier en ce, comme avions fait tout de le passe, de la monarchie qui lon nous avoient cydevant voulu imputer, comme encoires aucuns faisoient, bien que noz œuvres eussent tout ouvertement tesmoinge (et faisoient continuellement) le contraire.'

The Emperor defended himself against these false accusations in a speech which he delivered on Easter Monday, April 17, at Rome before Pope Paul III. and the cardinals.

In his introductory remarks he thanked the Pope for the good intentions he had entertained with regard to a General Council, saying that he too wished for such a Council with all his heart, because it was necessary for the general welfare of Christendom. For the same reason also he desired friendship and confidence between himself and the King of France. But his wishes in this last respect were altogether vain. Francis had acted in opposition to all the treaties they had concluded together; and just lately, in defiance of the Treaty of Cambray, he had been fomenting intrigues in Germany against the Emperor. Regardless of all pacific assurances, he had even now made a forcible entrance into Italy, had invaded Savoy, a fief of the Empire, and was pressing on continually further. He (Charles) had held out to the King the prospect of Milan for one of his sons, but Francis claimed immediate possession and enjoyment of the land for himself. 'I still go on,' said Charles, 'making overtures of peace to the King. If we were united we could work together for the good of Christendom, and restore her to the wished-for state of tranquillity. Even now I am ready to make over Milan to the Duke of Angoulême on sufficient security. It would be deeply painful to me if it came to war instead of peace and we were obliged to fight it out to the bitter end. That would mean the downfall of one or other of us, and the conqueror would have to pay dearly for his victory. The Christian nations would suffer terrible injury thereby and

would fall a prey to the dominion of the Turks and other infidels.' 'It is not out of mistrust of my own resources,' the Emperor went on, 'that I am negotiating a peace, for I have loyal subjects and adequate means for war; it is with a view to the general welfare of Christendom that I am anxious for peace. If the King insists upon war unconditionally, it seems to me my best course would be to settle all hostilities by a hand-to-hand engagement with him, man against man, and thereby avert worse disaster to our countries. Did not princes in former times fight each other hand to hand in order to ward off or to end a war?'

Again on the following day the Emperor represented to the French envoys how much good would result from a firmly established peace between himself and the King, and what advantage would accrue to the Church from a war against the Turks, from the convocation of a Council, and the return of the heretics to the unity of the true fold. By the continuance of discord between them, he urged, all public affairs would be thrown into the greatest confusion; subjects would set themselves up above their rulers; the Church would lose its position; faith and reverence would disappear from the world.[1]

The Pope in his answer lavished the highest praise on the Emperor's exertions in the cause of peace, and promised on his part to do all in his power in the same direction.

But Francis I. was bent on war. He would not accept the offer of Charles to make over Milan to the Duke of

[1] The Emperor's report, Lanz, ii. 223–228. *Lettre collective de Dodieu de Vély et de l'Evêque de Mâcon à François Ier*, in Charrière, i. 295–309, where the Pope's beautiful answer is also inserted.

Angoulême. Still less was he willing to evacuate Piedmont and Savoy. On the contrary he made a fresh treaty with the Turks for a joint attack on the Emperor's dominions. The Turks had already in March 1536 equipped themselves powerfully for an advance against Naples and Sicily and also against Moravia. In August, at command of the Sultan, an army of 18,000 men invaded Slavonia and ravaged the country with fire and sword.

When all attempts at peace had failed the Emperor resolved to attack the French King in his own country, and, indeed, simultaneously in the North and the South. In the summer of 1536 an army under Count Henry of Nassau invaded France from the Netherlands and conquered Guise. Charles himself advanced from the south with some 50,000 men, 20,000 of whom were Germans, and encamped in August near Aix. 'But the weather was against us,' writes Schärtlin von Burtenbach, who commanded a company under Caspar von Trundsberg; 'the army could not go forward. We lay encamped for two months before Marseilles and near Aix. Nearly half the troops died of hunger. We left a matter of 12,000 foot soldiers behind us, besides a large contingent of mounted troops and quantities of armour and ammunition. It was a disastrous campaign, owing to famine; we never once sighted the enemy.'

The French army under Montmorency did actually evade every chance of engagement, while the King, in order to starve out the imperial troops, gave orders to devastate the country far and wide, to destroy all stores and provisions, to stop the working of the mills, and to drive out the peasants with their goods and chattels.

The German prince Christopher of Würtemberg, who was in receipt of an income of 6,000 francs from Francis I., was delighted at the disasters of the Emperor. 'The events of the war,' he wrote from Lyons on September 21, 1536, 'have fallen out well and prosperously for our side, with great loss to our opponents, both in Provence and Picardy.' The Emperor was compelled to beat a retreat, and the army of the Netherlands also, after an ineffectual siege of Péronne, was obliged to evacuate French territory.[1]

Francis I. now demanded the immediate surrender of Milan and Asti; he also claimed the suzerainty over Artois and Flanders, forced his way into the Netherlands in March 1537, and soon made himself master of Hesdin.

'I am making all possible overtures for peace,' the Emperor wrote to his sister Maria, the Governess of the Netherlands, on April 27, 'but the King of France rejects all my proposals and boasts that he is an ally of the Turks and that he intends to advance on Italy.'

In the spring of 1537 Clissa, the chief bulwark of King Ferdinand's dominion in Croatia, fell into the hands of the Turks, and Ferdinand's Hungarian general Katzianer sustained a decisive defeat before Essek on his march to Sclavonia. In Italy also the Turks were victorious. In July 1537 they landed in Apulia, conquered Castro, devastated the coasts, and carried off thousands of Christians into slavery. The Venetian possessions, the islands of the Archipelago, were also conquered; in Corfu about 140 villages were destroyed.

[1] How melancholy the aspect was in the Netherlands is seen from the letters of the Governess Maria. Lanz, ii. 668, 669.

The French at the same time advanced into Piedmont. Their army consisted in great measure of German troops. Count William von Fürstenberg was one of the commanders of the German infantry, and Christopher of Würtemberg served under the French King with 23 companies of Landsknechts, which he had levied on German soil to fight against the Emperor. Christopher had begged permission from his father, Duke Ulrich, to levy these troops, saying that if he, as 'a servant of his Royal Majesty,' could be of any use in the matter, no amount of writing or despatching envoys would be irksome to him.[1]

It was not only the South German princes who allowed the levying of troops for the enemy of the Empire to go on unhindered; in the Mark of Brandenburg also the nobles were free to enter foreign service.[2]

'It was all along the misfortune of the Emperor and of Christendom,' says a contemporary, 'that the Germans supplied help to the treaty-breaking, treacherous King of France against his Imperial Majesty and the Holy Roman Empire of the German nation. And as often as the good peace-loving Emperor tried to make the Germans one in their religion, and to divert them from their iniquitous intrigues with the French, who, to the disgrace of Christianity, were allied with the Turks, so

[1] A. L. Herminjard, *Correspondance des Réformateurs dans les Pays de Langue Française*, iv. 85, note 10.

[2] See the declaration of the Margrave Joachim II., quoted in F. W. Barthold's *Deutschland und die Hugenotten*, &c., i. 20, note 2. 'I do not know,' said Francis I. in 1536, at a muster of troops, to his guest the Count Palatine Frederick, 'whether it is owing to the neglect of my ancestors or from intentional action on their part that the French nation, which was once upon a time so warlike and valiant, has now degenerated to such an extent that no foreign war can be carried through without foreign soldiers.' Hub. Leodii, lib. x. p. 292.

often was he hindered in his attempts. And the French and the German-French and the Turks joined together to do all they could to cause disturbance in Christendom, and to make the schism in the faith wider and permanent. Confusion and animosity grew from year to year; sects such as the Anabaptists were flourishing, which worked for a general breakdown, even for community of women and general division of property.'

CHAPTER VII

REIGN OF THE ANABAPTISTS AT MÜNSTER—THE 'GOSPEL' AT LÜBECK, 1534–1535

In spite of persecution of all sorts, and punishment of the severest description, the Anabaptist sects became more and more widely established, and gained multitudes of adherents even in the upper classes of the nation.

After the suppression of the fanatical movement 'by fire, sword, and imprisonment' in Switzerland and the South German towns, especially in Augsburg, Strasburg had become the centre of Anabaptist activity in the Empire. This town harboured within its precincts friends and representatives of all the different new religious sects, all of which, while firmly united in opposing every vestige of the Catholic Church system, were at variance with each other in nearly every other respect. War of all against all was the rule among them. The preachers Bucer, Capito, Hedio, and Zell were divided in their teaching, 'and when they preached the churches remained empty.' 'There is scarcely any church at all here,' Bucer lamented, 'no respect for the Word, no participation in the Sacraments.' 'The terrible decay of all godly doctrine and all reverence, together with the growth of countless strange unheard-of errors and fantasies,' the preachers assured the

Council, 'was more marked in Strasburg than in any other place in the Empire.'

In the year 1529 the Silesian nobleman Caspar von Schwenckfeld had come to Strasburg and had met with a specially warm welcome from Capito, who wrote of him to Zwingli that 'he was wholly possessed by the spirit of Christ,' 'a conspicuous witness of Christ.' Schwenckfeld proclaimed in Strasburg the doctrine of the 'deified humanity of Christ.' He rejected all 'mediation' between God and man, denied the power and efficacy of the Sacraments, as well as the importance of outward forms in the worship of God. 'By the distraction of outward means the free course of divine grace was interrupted,' he said; 'the Church was a purely spiritual and invisible kingdom.'[1]

It was in this same year that the furrier Melchior Hofmann, a Suabian who had laboured in Livonia, Sweden, Denmark, and Holstein as a 'preacher of the true Gospel,' came to Strasburg. In the year 1528 he had still been associated with Luther, but on his arrival at Strasburg Bucer greeted him as a zealous and successful combatant of 'Luther's magical doctrine' of the Eucharist. He became acquainted with Schwenckfeld, and, like him, proclaimed a novel doctrine of the incarnation of Christ: the Saviour had not taken human flesh from Mary, but the Word itself, without human co-operation, had become flesh; 'Christ had only one nature, not two, otherwise He must have partaken of the accursed flesh of Adam.'

After Hofmann had been rebaptised in 1530 he became a zealous Baptist. Infant baptism, he declared, 'was an invention of the devil and wholly unchristian.'

[1] Döllinger, i. 226 ff.

He considered that his own special vocation was 'the interpretation of the prophetical Scriptures,' especially of the Apocalypse. He himself had 'secret visions;' he posed as a divinely inspired prophet, and filled the minds of his numerous followers with hopes of the millennium. 'The time has come,' he wrote, 'when the Lord will gather together the chosen people of all tongues and races.' 'A time is now at hand such as was in the days of the Apostles, when God poured out His spirit upon all flesh, and the young men and maidens prophesied, and the old men saw visions and dreamt dreams.'

'Prophets' and 'prophetesses' from among Hofmann's followers foretold, like him, the near advent of the Lord: Hofmann, they said, was the new Elias, and Strasburg the new Jerusalem, the chosen city of God, from which the apocalyptic hundred and forty-four thousand would go forth for the last universal preaching of the divine word. But, said Hofmann, before these messengers of the true Gospel, equipped with the Pentecostal spirit, are able with signs and wonders to spread the true Baptist doctrines over the face of the earth, the seven apocalyptic angels of wrath must have completed their work: the destruction of Babylon must first be accomplished, 'the whole house of popery' must be levelled with the ground. All this would be accomplished in the year 1533.

By the beginning of this year Hofmann, who meanwhile had been proclaiming his new gospel in the northern Netherlands, had returned to Strasburg and was preaching openly of the impending season of the fulfilment of all things. At a religious discussion carried on between himself and the preachers in the

presence of the assembled town council Hofmann held firmly to the assertion that the kingdom of Christ would have its commencement at Strasburg, and there, whether free or captive, he declared that he would await the fulfilment of his hopes. The council had him placed in one of the city towers, and on his continuing his preaching from the window to his followers, who collected in front of it in the moat, he was shut up in a cage.

But the 'Prophet Melchior' preserved an unbroken spirit. 'O ye beloved saints of God and zealous members of Christ,' he wrote from prison to his disciples, the Melchiorites in the Netherlands, 'lift up your heads, hearts, eyes, and ears: the time of deliverance is at hand. All plagues are past and over, up to the seventh angel of vengeance. When this last has accomplished his work, when the first-born of Egypt is overthrown and vanquished, when the kingdom of Babylon and of Sodom has come to an end, then the joyous hallelujah will be sung, the spiritual Samson and Jonas will make their entry, and Joseph and Solomon will rule once more in the power of God over the whole universe.'

The founding of the 'kingdom of Zion,' which had not succeeded at Strasburg, was next to take place at Münster, in Westphalia.

Into Westphalia Protestantism had already penetrated at an early date, and had found acceptance, chiefly through the exertions of the Landgrave of Hesse, in the counties of Tecklenburg, Lingen, Wittgenstein, and Siegen, in the imperial abbey of Corvey, and in other districts. The Landgrave had bestowed on Count

Conrad of Tecklenburg the hand of his sister Mechtildis, who had been for 33 years a nun in the convent of Weissenstein, and the Prince-Bishop Eric von Paderborn and Osnabrück had given 'the strongest evidence of the state of feeling among some of the bishops,' by acting as witness at those nuptials, which were solemnised with much pomp and magnificence. To this same Eric, who at the Diet of Spires in 1529 had appeared on the side of the Protestant notables, the Bishop of Münster, Friedrich von Wied, who had never received episcopal consecration, sold his bishopric in 1530 for 40,000 florins. And this transaction was negotiated by the Archbishop of Cologne, Hermann von Wied, and the Lutheran Elector of Saxony. That under such clerical Judases the Catholic people were easily led astray is not difficult to understand.

The town of Münster had remained true to the old faith through all the changes and chances of the social revolution, and in 1529 was still regarded as a stronghold of the Catholic Church. But in the suburb of St. Mauritz, close outside its gates, the chaplain Bernt Rothmann was preaching the new doctrines and stirring up the people against the Catholic faith and the Catholic clergy. In the night before Good Friday 1531 a mob stormed the church of St. Mauritz, smashed the altars and images, and perpetrated atrocities of all sorts. Rothmann, like Luther, preached that men were justified by faith alone. From this statement he drew the conclusion: 'All that is called the service of God, according to the usage of the world, is not of God, but of the devil. It is the devil who institutes holy days and forbids any work being done on those days; the devil who makes distinctions in food, who ordains

pilgrimages, and has churches built. When you are anxious and troubled about external works you are no better than heathens.' Rothmann obtained a large following in Münster, and 'many impecunious people, burdened with debts, worshipped him as a god,' in the hope 'of being allowed to possess themselves, unpunished, of the goods of others;' for 'first and foremost all Church property was common spoil.' But people of good standing and respectability also attached themselves to him. The most audacious of these was the clothier Bernt Knipperdolling. Bishop Eric, who had taken possession of his diocese in March 1532, died suddenly in the middle of May, and this event was the signal for the simultaneous outbreak of religious disturbances at Münster, Osnabrück, and Paderborn. At Münster the people forced their way into the churches, carried off the church property—even the offerings from the altars—and maltreated the clergy in the public streets. The town council was powerless to stop the revolutionary proceedings. All the parish churches of the town were taken possession of by preachers. It was in vain that Count Francis of Waldeck, who had been chosen as Eric's successor, exhorted the town to obedience.

This new bishop (at the same time Bishop of Osnabrück) was only 'a secular lord' who had not even been ordained a deacon, was leading a scandalous life, and was completely under the influence of the Waldeck nobleman Friedrich von Twiste, a friend of the new religionists.

At Münster Knipperdolling persuaded the guilds to elect a committee of thirty-six men who were to initiate the 'rule of the Gospel.' The preachers demanded that

the town council should compel the Catholics to desist from their 'godless ceremonies.' The Catholic worship, they said, was a scandal and disgrace, and it behoved the civil powers to 'inflict the penalties of the law on those stiff-necked blasphemers of God;' otherwise the magistrates would be bearing the sword in vain. The two burgomasters and several of the councillors left the town; burghers, monks, and nuns conveyed their documents and their treasures to places of security. The Bishop cut off all access to the town and seemed about to resort to the most extreme measures. Suddenly, however, under the influence probably of Philip of Hesse, he declared himself ready to come to an agreement. Negotiations for this purpose were to be carried on by arbitration at a Diet at Telgte, whither he had gone with his councillors and the cathedral chapter to receive the homage of the country. Deputies were hurrying backwards and forwards on this business. Meanwhile the chiefs of the party in the town determined to make an attack on the Bishop and all the delegates at the Diet, clerical and secular, and to take them prisoners. In the night of December 26, 1522, they sent secretly to Telgte a body of 1,000 armed men who succeeded in surprising the little town and capturing most of the nobles, the clergy, and the landed proprietors. Only a few of the prebendaries were able to make their escape. The Bishop was saved by his having accidentally started for Iburg the day before. The prisoners were taken in triumph to Münster. 'We are bringing you the oxen,' exclaimed Kippenbroick; 'hear how they are lowing.'

Open war was now expected between the Bishop and the town. But through the mediation of the Landgrave of Hesse, with whom the Bishop had concluded

an offensive and defensive alliance, an agreement was entered into in February 1533, according to which the new religionists were to retain the six parish churches, but were to leave the Bishop, the cathedral chapter, and ecclesiastical colleges in the free exercise of the Catholic religion.

Shortly before this Philip, as a 'friend of the Gospel,' had succeeded, in defiance of the whole body of town magistrates and of the opposition of the canons, in forcing Protestantism on the town of Höxter. The collegiate church of St. Peter became the scene of iconoclastic riots.[1]

A Confession of Faith, drawn up by the Münster preachers, was sent by the town council to the Landgrave, that he might have it 'corrected by his councillors and learned men' and 'added to or expurgated.'

But the preachers were no longer amenable. Bernt Rothmann, whose teaching had been pronounced by the committee of burghers 'in full accordance with the Gospel,' altered this teaching from day to day. 'His teaching is found eccentric and variable,' so the Landgrave was informed by the Protestant Syndic of the town, von der Wieck, in November 1533: 'he is constantly altering it; to-day he preaches one thing, to-morrow just the opposite, so that no intelligent people any longer believe in him at all. Bernhart's followers are a wretched, impecunious lot of people, and I do not know one among them who is not so heavily burdened with debts that it would be difficult for him to pay up 200 florins.' The council at the same time complained to the Landgrave of the rest of the preachers, stating that they had caused great injury to religion and hindered

[1] Cornelius, ii. 100; Kampschulte, p. 102.

the course of the Gospel by their shameless denunciations of both the sacraments and of other religious mysteries. Rothmann had at first mixed bread and wine together in a large bowl and allowed the communicants to help themselves out of it. Later on he had taken to using wafers, which, in order to emphasise his teaching, he would occasionally break in two and throw on the ground with the words: 'See now if this be indeed flesh and blood. If it were veritably God, He would surely be able to get up from the ground and stand on the altar.' The Landgrave Philip himself sent two preachers to Münster—Lenning and Fabricius—and when the Bishop complained of this interference, as being at variance with the terms of the agreement, he appealed to his 'conscience,' saying he wished everybody to hold the same faith as himself, but at the same time to obey the civil powers. One of these Hessian preachers was actually dragged out of the pulpit at the instigation of Rothmann.

While this state of things was going on at Münster religious disturbances were also breaking out in many other towns of the bishopric; at Warendorf, Alen, and Beckum, in June 1533, churches were stormed, images and tabernacles destroyed, and valuable jewels stolen.

In Münster, amid the forcible suppression of the Catholics and much fighting against the moderate Protestants, the radical party was steadily gaining the upper hand both in politics and religion.

'The numbers of the apostates at Münster,' says Kerssenbroick, the historian of the Anabaptists, 'were principally swelled by people who had run through the fortunes of their parents and had earned nothing by their own industry; people who from their youth

up had been given over to idleness, who had lived on credit, till, weary of poverty, it had occurred to them to plunder and rob the clergy and the well-to-do burghers; people who disliked the clergy not on account of their religion but because they coveted their wealth and were anxious to introduce community of goods.'

As late as the year 1532 Rothmann had preached emphatically against the Anabaptists. But when, in the summer of the following year, large numbers of the followers of Melchior Hofmann flocked to Münster from Holland and Friesland, he too attached himself to them and soon openly joined the sect. He became a zealous advocate of the doctrine preached at Münster by the apostles of Jan Mathys, a baker of Haarlem, a new 'Prophet' who gave himself out as the promised Enoch and pretended to have private revelations. The time of affliction for the saints was over, these apostles preached at the bidding of the prophet; the time of harvest was at hand. God would defend and liberate His people and subdue their enemies unto them; they must take up arms not only for the defence of the saints but for the destruction of the godless. Under the rule of Christ the elect of the Lord would lead a blissful existence, enjoying community of goods, free from the bondage of laws, magistrates, and marriage.

At Münster after January 1534 these apostles, chief among whom was Jan van Leiden, a former tailor, gained so large a following both among the lowest and the highest classes, that in the course of a few months they came to look on 'the whole town as their own property,' and they sent for the 'Prophet'

of Amsterdam to take part in the triumph of the saints. Jan Mathys came to Münster in response to this invitation. The Lord had rejected Strasburg on account of its unbelief, so said the Melchiorites in the Netherlands, and had chosen Münster instead as the New Jerusalem.

On February 23, 1534, Knipperdolling, who had played a conspicuous part throughout the revolutionary movement, and his coadjutor Kippenbroick, were elected burgomasters. Münster was now completely in the possession of the new Prophets. While the inhabitants were leaving the town in shoals, disciples and associates of Rothmann and Knipperdolling were pouring in, at their summons, from all quarters, from Coesfeld, Schöppingen, Warendorf, and other towns. In the form of invitation which Rothmann had drawn up he announced that God had sent to Münster 'a Holy Prophet who was proclaiming the divine word with incredible power and enthusiasm, and without any human interpolations. If the brethren had their salvation at heart they must come with their wives and children, and assist in erecting a temple of Solomon in the holy Zion and in establishing the true worship of God.' 'Come,' wrote 'converted' women and men to distant friends and relatives, 'come, for here you will have enough to satisfy all your needs.' 'The poorest of the poor who are here among us, and who were formerly despised as beggars, now go dressed like the highest and the noblest of the land. And there are many poor people who by the grace of God have become as rich as the burgomaster and the wealthiest inhabitants of the town.'[1]

[1] Keller, pp. 147–148, 152.

'And so they came,' writes Gresbeck; 'the Dutch and the Frieslanders, and the good-for-nothing characters from all parts of the world, who were not wanted anywhere else, flocked to Münster and overflowed the town.'

On the very day after the election of the new burgomasters began the work of pillaging and the wanton desecration of churches and cloisters. The cathedral clock, a consummate work of art, was knocked to pieces with hammers and axes; the finest statues and specimens of stained glass were completely destroyed, the consecrated particles thrown on the ground and trampled under foot. Everything that savoured of art or learning fell a prey to the hand of the destroyer. For eight days long, flames were devouring the archives and libraries of the town. As it had been declared in the Scriptures that 'all high places were to be abased, and all the lowly ones exalted,' it was speedily resolved to level the churches with the ground; many of them were utterly destroyed, others were robbed of their steeples. The splendid collegiate church of St. Mauritz, where Rothmann had begun the work of destroying the old faith, was burnt to the ground. In order to efface all memory of the Christian past, the division of the year according to the Christian festivals was done away with; Sundays and saints' days were abolished; even the word 'church' was doomed to disappear. Churches thenceforth were called 'stone quarries;' the cathedral was 'the large stone quarry,' the cathedral yard the 'Mount of Zion.' At a 'comic Mass' held in the cathedral, cats, dogs, rats, and bats were offered up as sacrifices amid the laughter of the mob, and Rothmann preached to them

that 'all the Masses all over the world were as much a mockery as was this.'

On February 27 the reign of terror was inaugurated by the proclamation that 'all inhabitants must either be baptised afresh or leave the town. Armed men cried out in the streets: 'Begone, you godless people! God will awake and punish you.' 'The Anabaptists,' wrote the Bishop, 'drove all pious citizens, men, women, and children, with great threatening and terror out of their homes and out of the town, and filled the houses and lands, both of the clergy and the laity, with their own followers and with foreign intruders; sick, and infirm people and pregnant women were driven out to die of misery and want, so that in no country either of Turks or heathens had such inhuman cruelty ever been heard of.'

Those who would not go out of the town were baptised by the preachers, and by March 2 the 'holy city' was purged of all 'the godless people.' 'The wonders of the Lord are great and manifold,' Rothmann wrote to the 'brethren' in the neighbourhood of the town; 'He has stood by us and delivered us out of the hand of our enemies; panic-stricken, they have fled in shoals from the town. But according to the words of the Prophet all the saints are to be gathered together in this city; therefore it is commanded unto me to write to you that you should hasten hither to us with all the brethren and bring money with you, gold and silver, whatever you possess.'

In order to establish the 'holy kingdom' among 'the children of God' it was decided by 'the prophets, preachers, and all the members of the council that all goods were to be in common, and that each one was

to hand over his silver and gold, as indeed they all did in the end.' The Prophet Jan Mathys took the management of the communistic property into his own hands and 'became thenceforth more powerful than the burgomaster.'

The Bishop was prompt in his attempts at defence, and already by the end of February he had set to work with his Landsknechts on the enclosure of the town. But he was not adequately provided with means for carrying on a regular siege; he had no artillery, no powder, no money; and still in the month of May, owing to want of munitions, his troops had only been able to discharge twelve shots in two days. The town, on the other hand, was strongly fortified and supplied with provisions, and besides this 'the children of God and the warriors of God had no fear; they relied on help from the distant brethren, and they were confident that even with slender forces they would be able to defeat and destroy the godless ones.'

On April 5 the Prophet Jan Mathys lost his life in a foolhardy attack on the camp of the episcopal forces, and Jan van Leiden succeeded him as the new 'and even greater prophet.' At Van Leiden's suggestion the municipal constitution of Münster was reconstructed on the pattern of the 'old Israel,' and twelve elders were appointed in the holy city as lawgivers and administrators of all affairs, spiritual and secular, and as arbiters of life and death. 'All that is either commanded or forbidden in the Scriptures,' said the new code of laws, 'must be unhesitatingly eschewed or obeyed by every member of the new Israel.'

Among these commands of Scripture the prophet, the elders, and the preachers included the introduction

of polygamy. On July 23 Rothmann informed the people of this newly discovered commandment. Whoever wished to be a true Christian, so the preachers declared, must have several wives. Women—quite young girls even—were forced into marriage on pain of death. 'Every man took as many wives as he liked.' Rothmann had four, Jan van Leiden sixteen.

All who set themselves against 'the true gospel of community of goods and of polygamy' were punished with the utmost cruelty. Crimes of the most revolting description were the consequence. 'Religious fanaticism, sensuality, and brutality all went hand in hand.'

'All the new "children of God," men and women, young and old, seemed either to have gone crazy or to be possessed by an evil spirit, and began to prophesy.' 'The women were particularly furious.' 'Some of them,' eye-witnesses inform us, 'ran about in the streets all but undressed. Others jumped into the air, as if they wished to fly away into space. Others rolled about in the mud. Many foamed at the mouth. Some cried out that they beheld the Eternal Father, surrounded by many thousands of angels, standing, rod in hand, to punish the godless; others adored a brazen weathercock upon which the sun was shining, and fancied that God the Father was sitting on the house, while others ran like wild up and down the streets shrieking that at any moment Christ might come again.' On one occasion Knipperdolling cried out in the presence of the whole population that he was possessed, threw himself prone upon the ground, and wallowed in the mud like a hog. At another time he fell down, foamed at the mouth, and cried aloud that

'he must die and rise again: then would he give sight to the blind, for such was the Father's will.'[1]

After a successful resistance to the besiegers of the town, one of the new prophets, the goldsmith Dusentschur from Warendorf, summoned the people to the market-place at the beginning of September, and informed them that 'the heavenly Father had revealed to him that Jan van Leiden, the holy man and prophet of God, was to be made a king over the whole world, and that he was to rule over all the emperors, kings, princes, and mighty ones of the earth. He was to receive the throne and sceptre of his father David, which he would hold till God should take the kingdom away from him.' Jan van Leiden began forthwith to cry out that he too had had the same revelation made to him, but he thanked God for having chosen another than himself to declare it unto the people. He prayed that God would give him wisdom and understanding to govern the world well. Dusentschur handed to the 'chosen one' the sword which had been entrusted before to the twelve elders, anointed him with sweet-smelling oil in the name of God, and proclaimed him king over the new Zion. The preachers at once declared themselves for the new kingdom. All kings and princes of the earth, Rothmann declared, would now be the subjects of the holy king.

The Dutch tailor claimed for himself supreme authority, both spiritual and temporal, and called himself in his manifesto 'Johann the Just, King in the new temple, servant of the most holy God.' He had medals struck with the inscription: 'One righteous King over all the

[1] For further details see C. A. Cornelius, *Geschichte des münsterischen Aufruhrs*, in three vols., ii. 30.

Earth; one God, one Faith, one Baptism.' Knipperdolling was appointed to the post of royal vicar and stattholder, and Rothmann to that of royal orator and attorney; evangelical preachers and lay partisans were chosen as King's councillors. The new 'Ruler of the earth' was surrounded with magnificent court state. An imperial and a royal crown of finest gold were the symbols of his dignity. In his harem, which was modelled on Oriental fashion, Divara, the widow of the prophet Mathys, ranked as 'chief queen and was surrounded with pomp and splendour.' When one of his wives, weary of this dissolute existence, so full of horror and abomination, brought him back all her finery and, falling down at his feet, implored him to let her leave Münster, the 'King' led her to the market-place and in the presence of the people cut off her head with his own hands, whereupon the other wives sang: 'To God alone be glory in the highest,' and the King with his whole court danced round the bleeding corpse.

On one occasion the King gathered all the people together (excepting the five hundred who kept watch on the walls) on the Mount Zion (the cathedral place). They numbered about 1,600 fighting men, 400 old men and boys, and 4,000 women. A great and universal celebration of the Lord's Supper was to take place. The King and his chief queen were present with their court circle and served at the table. On the King's noticing among the numbers a stranger whom he did not know, he asked him: 'Of what faith are you? How dare you come to this wedding feast without having on a wedding garment?' He then cut off his head, and sitting down again at the table 'laughed over the murder' and said: 'The stranger belonged to the brethren of Judas.' After the

meal was over he handed round white biscuits; the queen poured out the wine, and they both of them pronounced the words of consecration of the Eucharist.

It was in obedience to the will of God, Johann declared, that he wielded the sword of justice; and as King of the chosen people he was obliged to appear in fine array; nothing that he did was done out of pride, but all for the honour of God, for he was dead to the things of the flesh. Soon, however, a still more dazzling glory would float around him, and the whole people of Israel would sit on silver seats, and eat off silver plates, for the hour was at hand when he would go forth to assume the dominion over all the nations of the earth.

In preparation for this 'going forth' he had twelve dukes chosen by the votes of the people, and allotted among them in anticipation the number of ecclesiastical and temporal principalities which he intended conquering after the raising of the siege, and whose rulers he meant to put to death.

Philip of Hesse was the sole prince who was to be left in possession of his territory and was to be spared in the general massacre; for although the Landgrave had sent a few companies to the aid of the Bishop, the Anabaptists hoped nevertheless to be able to win him over to their side as 'a friendly patron of the truth.' It is surely only out of carnal timidity and weakness,' they wrote to him on January 10, 1535, 'that you refuse to recognise openly that we are in possession of the truth.' 'That the papists, the veritable Babylonians, should withstand and persecute us is only consistent with their religion; but that the evangelicals, who wish to be considered friends of the precious truth and lovers of

Christ, should support and help the lying Romanists is beyond all comprehension.' They insisted that the collective body of evangelicals, whether they called themselves Lutherans or Zwinglians, ought to be convinced by the Holy Scriptures of the erroneousness of their teaching and doing. 'Up to the present day we have met with no more satisfactory answer than that we are heretics. If anybody can prove to us in very truth that we are in error, we are ready to submit to divine testimony.' 'What we suffer is for the sake of righteousness; and for this reason we have no fear.' 'Our small beginning is a spark which God has kindled. All the waters of the whole earth will not be able to extinguish it. Let the world laugh or cry, it matters not, the little stone will grow all the same into a large mountain, which will cover the whole earth.'

'Dear Lips,' wrote the 'King of the new Zion' to the Landgrave, 'you know without doubt that Christ has said, and that the prophets have borne witness, that not one tittle of the prophetic writings shall remain unfulfilled. Peter too in the Acts of the Apostles says that in the times of restitution, which have already begun, now that through the clear light of the Gospel the Babylonian captivity has been dissolved, everything shall be restored, as God has spoken through the mouth of all the prophets of the world.' The Landgrave must inform himself more fully out of the Old and New Testaments 'how and in what form the Babylonists were to receive retribution;' to what kingdom and to what dominion God's people all over the world were to be gathered together. He could then see that they had not arbitrarily set up a king in Münster, but that they had indeed chosen the anointed of God.'

Affixed to this letter, under the title 'Concerning the Restitution,' was an exposition by Rothmann of the new system of doctrine, 'the true and sound Christian doctrine, faith, and life.' Now at length, he said, would ensue the true restoration of a world ruined by sin. Erasmus, Luther, and Zwingli had been the first initiators of the truth, which would now be gloriously established by the three new prophets—despised by the world as wholly ignorant men—Melchior Hofmann, Johann Mathys, and Johann van Leiden. Rothmann set forth the different dogmas of the faith and attempted to prove from Scriptures the merits of polygamy, as also of community of goods, and the duty of annihilating the 'godless' by the power of the sword.

Philip undertook an exhaustive refutation of this pamphlet. The teaching, he said, had made a good start at Münster, but had deteriorated into evil; witness especially the way in which the Anabaptists had sinned against their duty, against their own fellow-citizens, and against the general peace. Amongst other falsehoods in their teaching was their doctrine of faith and of the freedom of the human will. Man had no free will, but lay under the stern law of predestination. 'If some men were not predestined for punishment others could not experience the mercy of God. Be silent, therefore, and cease to attack predestination and the essence of God.' With regard to infant baptism, God had 'not forbidden it.' Their doctrines of community of goods and of polygamy were also false, and must be rejected. Respecting the latter the Landgrave brought forward for the benefit of the Anabaptists the same arguments which, six years later, when he himself

committed bigamy, were advanced against him: 'In that you approve of taking several wives we cannot commend you; we hold, on the contrary, that you do wrong in this and commit an offence, for we find nowhere that the Apostles allowed polygamy. On the contrary Paul says: "Let each have his own wife." Even though you take your stand on the words "Increase and multiply" you must keep within the bounds prescribed by God—namely, one husband and one wife. Moreover out of reverence for the Gospel you ought to renounce such carnal things; for everybody knows what offence to the Gospel results from this doctrine.' The installation of their King was an insurrectionary proceeding which had not been prompted by any worthy spirit; for they ought first of all to have made known to the world the Scripture text on which they had acted, and to have given adequate proof by signs and wonders that such a king had been chosen out and was to be set up.[1]

The pamphlet on 'Restitution,' which had been sent to the Landgrave, was distributed broadcast with the object of inciting foreign 'brethren' to come to Münster and assist in raising the siege and in spreading the kingdom of God. Rothmann, had striven to attract the common people by assuring them that 'everything that has pandered to selfishness and greed of possession has now, by the power of love and the doctrine of community of goods, fallen into our hands, and, as we know that God means to do away with all such abominations, we would rather face death than return to the old condition of things. We know that such sacrifices are well-pleasing to the Lord.'

[1] Bucholtz, v. 597-603.

Everywhere there were 'brethren ready for the fray.'

During the reign of the 'kingdom of Münster' the numbers of the Baptist communities multiplied and increased in the whole surrounding district, in Coesfeld, Warendorf, Osnabrück, Hamm, and throughout the earldom of Mark. At Hamm, in April 1534, a Baptist thus addressed the people standing by him in the churchyard: 'If the Bishop with his canons and squires intends to harm the good town of Münster, we of Hamm and other places under his jurisdiction should mix in the fray and drive out the blood-drinking Bishop and wring the necks of all his followers.'

In the district of the Lower Rhine also 'the number of insurgent Anabaptists was very large in nearly all the towns and villages.' In Cologne there were about 700 of them, under the leadership of the demagogue Gerhard Westerburg, who had been an influential 'new religionist' during the social revolution of 1525; the Archbishop stood in terror of a rising of the common people. Westerburg was also active in the neighbourhood, especially in Mörs; one of his associates preached between Königswinter and Beuel. At Essen the number of Baptists was computed at from 100 to 200. At Aix-la-Chapelle there was a community of this sect which was closely connected with those of Liège and Maestricht. Secret emissaries came from Cologne, Aix-la-Chapelle, and Wesel to Münster and encouraged the brethren with the news that the Kings of France and England had become Anabaptists. The King of Zion built his hopes especially on Wesel, where the Baptists counted leading burghers among their numbers, and even several members of the council; they were making

ready in this town for military proceedings, and were buying up arms, and endeavouring 'to organise matters there according to the pattern of Münster.'[1]

But it was in the northern Netherlands that this sect was particularly strong. In Holland, West Friesland, Oberyssel, and Brabant the larger towns were hotbeds of Anabaptism. 'There is scarcely a town or a borough in these districts,' wrote Erasmus Schetus from Antwerp on February 6, 1535, in which the embers of Anabaptist insurrection are not secretly smouldering. 'Because they preach community of goods,' he adds, 'they attract all the paupers.' Amsterdam ranked as the second capital city which, like Münster, was dedicated to the 'children of God.' In November 1534 the town was in great danger of falling into the hands of the Baptists.[2]

Between Münster and the Brethren in Westphalia, the Lower Rhine, and the Netherlands, constant intercommunication and exchange of activity went on. Already in March 1534 an attempt was made in the Netherlands to organise an expedition to Münster. Thirty ships, with crews well armed, set sail on one occasion, from the neighbourhood of Amsterdam; 'and in Cleves and other districts large bodies of Baptists collected together.' But the undertakings were, fortunately, abortive.

[1] Keller, pp. 157–158.

[2] Cornelius, *Niederländische Wiedertaüfer*, pp. 11–12, 16. In Amsterdam a number of men and women ran naked through the streets, crying out 'they were sent by God to proclaim the naked truth to the godless.' 'It is an odd thing,' wrote a member of the court of Holland from Amsterdam in 1535, 'to see these naked people. They jump about like savages, and seem in part to be possessed by the devil, though they speak rationally enough. They say strange, unheard-of things which it would be too long to repeat.' Cornelius, pp. 19–21.

'In 1534 and 1535 it seemed as if everywhere in Westphalia and the Rhineland, in the Netherlands, throughout the whole of North Germany, and even further north still, the common people were preparing, by means of secret alliances and conferences, to rise in rebellion and expel or massacre the clergy, nobility, and landed gentry, and to overthrow all Christian institutions and divide Church property among themselves. The sedition of the people seemed far more dangerous than at the time of the peasant rising in 1525, and now, as then, all plunder, crime, and devastation were for the sake of the Gospel and the divine word.'

In Bremen, after the introduction of the new teaching, the populace had at one time succeeded in compelling the town councillors and the preachers to leave the town, and it was only by force of arms and bloodshed that tranquillity was restored in 1533. But the fire went on smouldering uninterruptedly. In the year 1534 the council was obliged to issue severe edicts against 'these sowers of poison' in the town, and against the 'multitude of insurrectionary books and pamphlets' circulated from Münster and other places. Similar conditions existed in Lüneburg, Brunswick, and Rostock; but it was in Lübeck that affairs assumed the most dangerously threatening attitude.

On May 28, 1534, it was announced from the camp at Münster that 'credible news had been received that the town of Lübeck also had been converted to Anabaptism.'

In the year 1529 the council of Lübeck had still given powerful support to the Catholic faith in northern Germany. But, owing to a fresh imposition of taxes,

there had been a rising of the populace on June 29, 1530, and they had insisted on the confiscation of Church property and the establishment of a new Church system with 'representatives from the people in every church.' The sacking of the churches had yielded rich booty. The silver and silver-gilt treasures and works of art stolen from the sacred buildings had weighed altogether no less than 96 cwt., besides numbers of chalices, crosses, and other articles of pure gold.

A leading part in this work of destroying the old idolatry was played by Jürgen Wullenweber, an immigrant merchant, to whom the town council had refused citizenship on account of his debts. 'He was a bad, spiteful man,' says Lambert von Dahlen, 'who attached to himself the profligate lower orders and shrank from no manner of wickedness; he brought the good city of Lübeck into great misery, disaster, and disgrace.'

Under Wullenweber's leadership a committee of burghers who were entrusted with the administration of the city funds and all the municipal authority of the place accomplished the complete suppression of the Catholics, and at the same time brought about a violent revolution in the town constitution. On the receipt of an imperial mandate which insisted on the restoration of the old faith and the old constitution the community decided in October 1530 that 'the Emperor must be informed by writing that they, the inhabitants of Lübeck, would only yield obedience to him as far as this was reconcilable with the "Word of God" and the well-being of the town; if the Emperor attempted to coerce them they would seek protection elsewhere.' In September 1531 the houses of patrician associations and the guildhalls of the merchants were attacked by

the populace, plundered, and destroyed. At the instigation of Duke Ernest von Lüneburg the town enrolled itself in the League of Smalcald, using part of the booty from the churches to pay the subscription money: Wullenweber, from his own confession, helped himself to 20,000 florins' worth of the silver that had been melted down and coined.

In May 1533 Wullenweber was raised to the dignity of burgomaster, and thenceforth he and his two most confidential friends, the town syndicus, Dr. Oldendorp, and the military general, Marcus Meyer, both of them immigrants from Hamburg, ruled the whole town. Oldendorp was a man of wide culture and information, but of dissolute character and turbulent temper; 'he could discourse in fine language,' and he filled Wullenweber with his fantastic ideas. Meyer, formerly an anchorsmith, revelled, like a true upstart, in pomp and luxury, and made himself conspicuous by his immorality as well as by his rash audacious schemes.

The three men conceived the plan of raising the power of the common people all over the north, of restoring the old influence of Lübeck, and of spreading 'the Gospel' by sheer compulsion.

The elective throne of Denmark had fallen vacant by the death of King Frederic on April 20, 1533, and the consequent disturbed condition of the country gave these demagogues their first opportunity. They claimed the right to nominate the successor to the throne, and resolved to use all means to prevent the crown's being bestowed on a prince who was favourable to the Emperor or the Catholic faith. Wullenweber and Oldendorp declared that rather than suffer a king

to be appointed in Denmark who was hostile to the Gospel and to themselves, and friendly to their adversaries, they would let their town be reduced to a heap of stones; if they were too weak to prevent such a contingency by their own unaided power, they would call France and England, yea, if necessary, even the Turks, to their assistance. They proceeded to form an alliance with France and England. Henry VIII. represented to his ally the French King in June 1534 that, 'in like manner as they had joined together against King Ferdinand to further and help on with money the restoration of Duke Ulrich of Würtemberg, so it was advisable that they should not grudge expense in the case of Denmark for the sake of opposing the influence of the Imperial House. The King of England paid the Lübeck ambassador 20,000 florins provisionally on the security of their town with the civic funds and domain; he called the burgomaster, Wullenweber, his henchman and servitor.

Large forces of cavalry and infantry were levied in Lübeck, and all the warships were got in readiness. The Wendish towns which Oldendorp had stirred up to overthrow their constitutions joined themselves to the people of Lübeck, supplied them with ships and troops, and pledged themselves to 'promulgate the word of God, to oppose all false doctrine, and to use the goods and revenues of the churches for the benefit of the community.' All the revolutionary elements in North Germany combined in favour of the ruling party in Lübeck. A few years before, on his return from the Augsburg Diet, Duke Ernest of Lüneburg had rejoiced that in Lübeck and other neighbouring towns 'the favour or disfavour of the Imperial Majesty is little

cared for, thank God, for they are now preaching more earnestly than ever in all the towns and publishing the word of God.' Now he thought differently about the propagation of the 'Gospel' in these towns. The towns, he wrote, are setting themselves up and trying to deal with their rulers as Lübeck has done. 'If your Highness,' he complains to the Elector John Frederic of Saxony on July 22, 1534, 'had the slightest idea how insolently our subjects in Lüneburg, who now look to the Lübeckers for support, are behaving towards my brother and myself, I am sure your Highness would have pity on us.' 'The towns of this district,' some Saxon delegates wrote to the Elector, 'have set their minds to become princes and lords by means of Master Omnes (the populace); in Denmark and elsewhere they plot in secret against their rulers and the knights, fomenting rebellion in many parts.'

It was feared that the machinations of Lübeck would lead to a general peasant rising all along the sea coast. In Denmark and Holstein the intention was, as Marcus Meyer deposed, 'to massacre all the nobility.' 'All high places were to be made even, all rulers to be put down:' 'thus Lübeck, Copenhagen, and Elnbogen had resolved,' so Wullenweber confessed.

In May 1534, just at the time when Philip of Hesse was setting out on his expedition to Würtemberg for the reinstatement of Ulrich and the propagation of 'the Gospel,' Lübeck declared war against Denmark and Duke Christian of Holstein, who aspired to ascend the Danish throne. Here too the fight was to be for the cause of 'the Gospel'—not, however, in a sense favourable to the interests of territorial princes. For whilst in Holstein the Duke and the nobility claimed for them-

selves the possessions of the Church, Wullenweber's plan, after he had confiscated all religious foundations and endowments, was to subject the whole bishopric of Lübeck to the jurisdiction of the city, and by this means to secure to himself feudal power over Holstein also. The men of Lübeck pressed on victoriously into Holstein and visited the monasteries and manor-houses with plunder and rapine. On the arrival of the fleet in Denmark the long-planned rising of the lower classes broke out there. On July 16 Copenhagen opened its gates, and 'through the might of the common people' all the Danish islands fell into the hands of Lübeck. A successful rising occurred simultaneously in Schoonen. The peasants of Jutland also rose in revolt and defeated the nobles.

Thus the plans of the triumvirate for the socio-political transformation of the whole northern regions seemed about to be realised, and to be realised, moreover, on the lines of the Anabaptists.

Wullenweber had been won over to Anabaptist opinions. It was not he, however, who was leader of the movement, but, as he repeatedly stated, Dr. Oldenburg 'was the originator and head of it all.' It had been intended, said Wullenweber, to establish Anabaptism first in Lübeck, then in Hamburg, Bremen, and all the surrounding towns. 'Then they would have leagued themselves together and have become very powerful.' He kept himself in close communication with influential associates in the different towns. They had not intended, he said, to go at once to the length of community of goods, nevertheless 'the one would have followed from the other.'

He sent a messenger to Münster who was to inform

himself minutely as to all that was going on and to offer the Baptists there the support of Lübeck.

At the beginning of October 1534 27 'apostles' were sent out from Münster to all the four quarters of the globe to proclaim the advent of the King of Zion, 'who would arise and set up the sceptre of his dominion over the whole earth.' Wherever room was granted them for their labours these apostles accomplished great results. At Warendorf they brought over to their side not only the common people but also the town council, and it needed the armed interference of the Bishop to suppress a rising of the town after the pattern of the Münster rising. In other places the emissaries of the 'King of Zion' were straightway put into prison by the magistrates.

The open preaching of sedition had failed, and it was now all the more necessary to fan the flame in secret. In the month of December Rothmann composed the incendiary pamphlet 'Von der Rache' ('Concerning Vengeance').

'Vengeance will be fulfilled,' he wrote, 'against those who have hitherto possessed power, and when it has been fulfilled then a new heaven and a new earth will be prepared for the people of God.'

'God will make for His people brazen claws and horns of iron; plough-shares and axes shall be turned into swords and spears. A leader shall be appointed by them, the standard shall be unfurled, and the trumpet shall be sounded. A savage and pitiless people shall be stirred up against Babylon; they shall recompense Babylon for all its offences; yea, doubly, trebly shall Babylon be recompensed.'

'Go to, dear brethren, arm yourselves for the fight,

and not only with the humble weapons of the Apostles, in order to suffer, but also with the glorious armour of vengeance of David, in order, with the help and strength of the Lord, to overcome all the might of the Babylonians, and to root out the ungodly from the earth. Be not afraid to hazard life, property, wives, and children.'

On December 24 emissaries, supplied with 1,000 copies of this pamphlet and large sums of money, were despatched to the northern Netherlands, and they passed safely through the lines of the besiegers. Other messengers followed 'to gather in the brethren.'

On January 2, 1535, appeared the 'Institutions and Articles issued by God and the King, John the Righteous, relative to the Great Expedition against the Godless People.' Everything on earth was to be regulated in accordance with God's word. 'Against the heathen magistrates who had not not yet heard the word of God' no proceedings were to be taken, 'but the Babylonish tyranny of the clergy, the monks, and all their followers, which by its injustice forcibly suppressed the justice of God, must in no wise be spared.'

'Monks and priests and all rulers must be massacred,' was the cry of the Baptists in the Netherlands, 'for our King is the sole rightful ruler.' Towards the end of 1534 the town of Deventer was near falling into the hands of the Baptists, whose leader there was the son of the burgomaster. In January 1535 a Baptist plot was discovered in Leyden, by which the town was to be set on fire. In the province of Groningen about 1,000 men assembled together to march to Münster, but they were scattered by the troops of Duke Charles of Guelders. Among the leaders who were taken

captive was the 'Prophet' Shumacher, who had given himself out as the Son of God. In March the Baptists intended to raise four companies—one at Eschenbruch, on the Meuse, in the duchy of Juliers, one in Holland and Waterland, one between Aix-la-Chapelle, Maestricht, and Limburg, the fourth in Friesland, near Groningen. 'A call will be made, so the Baptists declared, and all who hear the call shall rise up with money and arms and gather together at the appointed places to be led to the King, who is going forth from Münster.' At the end of March 800 Baptists made themselves masters of the walled and moated monastery of Olden, in West Friesland, and their dislodgment necessitated the calling out of all the military forces of the land, a regular siege by the imperial stattholder, and a ten days' assault of the place. Near Deventer the Duke of Guelders caused some ships laden with arms and with Anabaptists to be scuttled; and those of the sect who had congregated near the cloister of Warsum were put to flight by Carl of Guelders. In May another attack was made on Amsterdam, 'which belonged to the Christians.' Jan van Geel, one of the 'apostles' sent out from Münster, organised a rising there in order to take possession of the town for 'the King of Zion.' 'Come and help us,' the Baptists cried to the Evangelicals, reckoning on their help; 'things are going against the priests.' On the evening of May 11 some 500 armed Baptists made their way into the council-house, stabbed one of the burgomasters, and prepared to defend their position. But the burghers flew to arms, and a fight ensued, which ended in the complete annihilation of the Baptists. The prisoners, after their hearts had been torn out of their bodies and thrown in their

faces, were beheaded, quartered, and stuck up on posts.

In Lübeck also and in the north of Germany things took an unfavourable turn for the Baptists.

Duke Christian of Holstein, supported by the heads of the Smalcald League, the Danish nobility, and Gustavus Vasa of Sweden, had equipped a powerful body of troops, with which he recovered possession of his country, and appeared before Lübeck with his victorious army. In this extremity there followed a reaction against Wullenweber and his party. The town concluded peace with Christian and gave up whatever it had got possession of in Holstein.

There was no longer any question of supporting the Anabaptists.

At a religious convention held at Hamburg in April 1535 the towns of Lübeck, Bremen, Hamburg, Lüneburg, Stralsund, Rostock, and Wismar combined together to formulate the most severe and stringent edicts against the Anabaptists; it was at the same time decided that the Catholics were no longer to be tolerated within the walls of these cities, but to be driven out bodily. At Hanover it was decreed that the Anabaptists were to be punished by hanging, and that the Catholics and Zwinglians were to be flogged with rods and sent into perpetual banishment.

But the siege of Münster dragged on without result. The surrounding districts and provinces did not consider themselves strong enough for the conquest of the town. They determined to summon the whole Empire to their assistance. At the beginning of April the notables assembled at Worms. However the whole amount of money supplies guaranteed was only

105,000 gold florins, which were still to be collected. The help contributed was not enough for a vigorous siege, but it sufficed for the continuation and strengthening of the investment, by which at any rate all access was cut off from the town.

A terrible famine spread gradually through Münster. 'The common people,' said one of the 'King's' messengers who had been taken prisoner by the besieging forces, 'their wives and children are suffering terribly from hunger and distress, and go about the streets crying piteously for bread; they are living on grass and green herbs.' One could live on this, the King had said, as well as on bread. 'They ate boiled shoe-leather and horse-skins; they scraped the walls and drank the scrapings in water.' As many as six, eight, or ten people who had died of starvation were often laid in one grave, while the King and his court were provisioned for a whole year and supplied with the best wine and beer. Jan van Leiden, fearing that this extremity of need would lead to a tumult of the people and the surrender of the town to the Bishop, had inaugurated a reign of terror. Whoever made the least complaint was forthwith beheaded. On June 3 no less than fifty-two persons were executed thus, and more than twenty on the following days. Claus Northorn, who had been guilty of a treacherous plot for delivering the town into the hands of the Bishop, was sentenced by the King to be cut up into twelve pieces; the heart and the liver of this unhappy victim were cooked and eaten by one of the preachers.[1]

When all hope of recovering their position was at an end, John told his people that the only way would be to set fire to the town in several places and then

[1] Cornelius, *Münsterische Geschichtsquellen*, ii. 38, 141, 335, 343–344.

make their escape to Holland through the enemy's fortifications.

However, before they were able to carry out this plan the besiegers succeeded in surprising the town on the night of June 24. Some of the 'Zionists' had treacherously discovered to the Bishop the places where the rampart could be scaled without danger, and after a fierce encounter the Baptists were overpowered and barbarously punished. The King, his lieutenant, Knipperdolling, and his chancellor, Krechting, suffered the severest penalties. After a long spell of imprisonment and torture they were removed to the market-place, and on the same spot where John had previously ascended the throne they were plied with red-hot pincers and stabbed with a red-hot dagger; their corpses were hung up in three iron cages on the tower of St. Lambert's Church as a warning and a terror to others.[1]

The Prince-Bishop now ruled as a stern administrator in the waste and desolate town. The dispirited burghers could not maintain their civic freedom, but after the terrible experience they had had of the working of the new doctrines they cherished an unalterable devotion to their old Catholic faith, the exercise of which was restored in all the churches of the town.[2] It was not so much for the protection of the Catholic faith as for the reconquest of his principality that Bishop Franz von Waldeck had waged war on the rebels; he made no secret of his Protestant

[1] Concerning the fate of the Anabaptists after the downfall of the kingdom of Münster see Keller in the *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kunst*, Jahrg. i. (1882), pp. 429–468.

[2] Keller, *Die Wiederherstellung der katholischen Kirche nach den Wiedertäuferunruhen*, 1535–1537, in v. Sybel's *Histor. Zeitschr.* xlvii. 429 ff.

opinions, but when later on he endeavoured to introduce Lutheranism into Münster he met with unconquerable opposition.

Before the conquest of Münster the subjugation of Lübeck had already been accomplished. Duke Christian of Holstein, who had been chosen king by the Danish nobles, attempted to enforce his claim to the throne by arms, while the people of Lübeck espoused the cause of the banished King Christian II. Supported by Gustavus Vasa of Sweden, Duke Albert of Prussia, and the Landgrave Philip of Hesse, he captured Aalborg in December 1534 and reduced the whole of Jutland to submission. His troops also took possession of Fünen and the rest of the islands. On June 11 followed the decisive battle of Fünen, near the Oxnebirg, not far from Assen, where the people of Lübeck suffered a complete defeat. Almost at the same time a Lübeck fleet was scattered off Bornholm and most of the ships were carried off. In Lübeck after the overthrow of Wullenweber[1] the old members of the council were restored to office. Through the mediation of the princes of the Smalcald League peace was concluded in February 1536 between the town and Christian III. on terms which apparently were favourable to the people of Lübeck, but which gave the death-blow to the Hanseatic League. This confederacy lost its political significance, and its whole might gradually disappeared in consequence. The collapse of Lübeck was at the same time the collapse of German influence at home and abroad.

[1] Wullenweber was taken prisoner in the territory of the Archbishop of Bremen, and after a painful trial was handed over to Duke Henry of Brünswick, brother of the Archbishop, and beheaded on September 24, on the place of execution near Wolfenbüttel; his body was quartered and stuck on four wheels.

The efforts of the Emperor to place on the Danish throne a German prince of imperial proclivities, the Count Palatine Frederic, who had married the daughter of Christian II., were altogether fruitless. With the help of the Smalcald princes the anti-German party triumphed in Denmark. The Germans lost the dominion over the Sund and the German Ocean. On August 6 Christian III. made his entry into Copenhagen and began the working of that 'golden mine' of his the Sund toll. He proceeded at once to the task of forcibly suppressing the Catholic religion by arresting the bishops and seizing all the property of the dioceses. The sole supporters were the nobles, who received their share of the plundered Church goods, and, as was so generally the case in Germany, ground down the peasants in slavish bond service;[1] even the children of preachers and sextons remained in bondage. But without military forces drawn from Germany, Christian could not defend himself against insurrection in Denmark and in his hereditary dominions. In the year 1538 he became a member of the League of Smalcald.

[1] Barthold, *Gesch. von Rügen u. Pommern*, 4[b], 294. 'The chiefs of the Smalcald League, eager to draw Denmark into the great *opposition against* the Emperor, supported Christian III. The North was transformed; Christian III. was King; Lutheranism was established: but henceforth the burghers groaned under military oppression, the peasants were forced into dog-like bondage to the nobility; German power on the sea had disappeared for ever with the Hanseatic League' (Barthold). Another Protestant historian, Allen (in his *History of Denmark*, pp. 310–313), says: 'The dwellers on the great estates of the Church had now to exchange the mild rule of the clergy for the galling yoke of the nobles. Forced labour was arbitrarily exacted; the peasants became bondsmen. Agriculture fell much below the point it had reached in the Middle Ages, the population decreased, the country was full of empty farms.' The very first year after the introduction of Lutheranism most cruel game laws were enacted: the loss of both eyes, and of life itself, was the penalty for keeping a dog for hunting. Döllinger, *Kirche*, pp. 97–98.

CHAPTER VIII

STRENGTHENING OF THE LEAGUE OF SMALCALD — THE 'BUNDESTAG' (ASSEMBLY OF THE LEAGUE) OF 1537 — BANISHMENT OF THE BISHOP FROM AUGSBURG AND CONVERSION OF THE TOWN TO PROTESTANTISM

After the expedition against Würtemberg, successfully carried through with surprising rapidity in open breach of the Public Peace, the power of the politico-religious league of the Protestant Estates acquired ever increasing solidity and strength.

'Philip the Hessian, victorious and triumphant over the King,' wrote George Wizel, 'has filled the land with cries of exultation, and has so greatly strengthened the new Church that henceforth it will yield to no power whatsoever. A thousand of Luther's books would not have been so profitable to the cause as this one campaign of the Landgrave's. A large number of the younger princes, nobles, and magnates are Lutherans at heart without their fathers knowing it.'[1]

The League of Smalcald either gathered into its ranks in an increasing measure from year to year all the separatists in the Empire, or at any rate was on friendly terms with them. It formed at the same time a natural nucleus and *point d'appui* for all the political schemes and intrigues of the Emperor's foreign enemies.

Epist. Qq. a. See Döllinger, i. 41.

Already in April 1535 the Catholics had been under apprehension that the Elector of Saxony would set himself up as King and as champion of the Lutheran party. German books calculated to influence the people in this direction had already been published, so the Duke George of Saxony declared. The Archbishop of Lund, however, who reported on the matter to the Emperor, had no immediate fears of any such contingency; he thought the elevation of the Elector would be prevented by the Landgrave's jealousy of Saxony.[1] Wellnigh in despair, King Ferdinand wrote to the Emperor in December 1535 concerning the state of things in Germany: 'There is nothing but error, profligacy, and disturbance everywhere; the Catholics and all true-hearted subjects of the Emperor have reason to fear the very worst in all directions; if Charles does not come and set things straight by his "presence and personal authority," the disruption of Germany and the overthrow of all political and social order must inevitably ensue.'[2]

But the Emperor was hampered with the French and Turkish wars and unable to come to Germany.

At a meeting at Smalcald in December 1535 the confederates renewed their league for another ten years, and determined to raise an army of 10,000 infantry and 2,000 cavalry; the commanding officers and the boards of war were to have power, in case of necessity, to double the number of the troops. Active help was to be afforded to any members of the League

[1] The Archbishop of Lund's report to the Emperor, April 8, 1535, in Lanz, *Correspondenz*, ii. 173–174. 'Quantum ego res Germanie intelligo, de hoc tumulto *nunc nihil timeo*, quoniam landgravius Saxonie ducem electorem pro rege ferre non potest.'

[2] Bucholtz, v. 324–327.

who were injured or oppressed, in matters of religion, by sentences and penalties from the Imperial Chamber. With regard to the admission of new members, the heads of the League, Saxony and Hesse, continued for some time to hold different opinions; the Electors would not consent to augmenting the numbers, because such a proceeding would not have been in conformity with the Treaty of Nuremberg and was also unnecessary for the efficiency of the League.[1] But Philip now gained the day at Smalcald. A resolution, diametrically opposed to the Peace of Nuremberg, was passed to the effect that 'for the enlargement and wider usefulness of the League all who were at the present moment applying, or who should in future apply for admission, and who recognised the pure and simple Gospel of God, who were lovers of peace and behaved like pious people, should be received into the confederacy.' But the new members must subscribe to the Confession of Augsburg and 'in all points and articles act and believe in harmony with the other members.'

The Estates declared in the Recess of the assembly that, in conformity with the peace and the armistice that had been concluded, 'they would defraud no man of his goods, nor do injury to any one *in violation of the Imperial "Landfriede"* and armistice;' nevertheless (they added in a saving clause) 'we, the confederated members, do not wish to be understood to include herein all that relates to abolition of papal and clerical jurisdiction, ceremonies, and abuses, and what is connected therewith; but the right to make improvements in

[1] 'Dubitabat non solum de jure, an liceat novos socios adsciscere post pacem Norimbergensem, sed et de utilitate, quae inde sperari posset.' May 1534. Seckendorf, iii. 75.

these matters shall be reserved to each one, and in such cases we shall proceed in accordance with the agreement and union that we have concluded.' If, however, in consequence of these their proceedings, the Imperial Court or other courts should institute measures either against the old or the new members of the League, and the Protestant Estates should be annoyed thereby and assaulted by any one, they would then, 'according to the terms of the agreement, prepare for defence and take action, all being done in good faith and without fraud.'[1]

The confederates of Smalcald wanted to have full freedom to abolish the Catholic form of worship and Catholic educational institutions, and to confiscate the Church revenues. They wanted full freedom to establish territorial churches, which would leave the Catholics no alternative between renouncing their faith or leaving the country with their wives and children. They pledged themselves to mutual support in the assertion of their freedom, and engaged to stand by each other reciprocally with armed forces, in case of being hindered in their proceedings by the interference of the Imperial Chamber. But whenever the Catholics stood up in defence of their rights, their property, the exercise of their religion, the members of the Smalcald League spoke of their behaviour as an 'attack' against which they 'must take up arms to defend themselves.'

This was the nominal sense in which their league was a 'defensive alliance.' In reality it was an 'offensive alliance' against recognised rights of person and property.

[1] See lengthy note respecting the *Recess of the Smalcald Assembly* in German original, iii. 355.

Again and again the Emperor urged on the Protestants that he by no means wished, as was made out, to proceed against them forcibly on account of their religion. He had hitherto tried all manner of means for bringing the Empire back to tranquillity without recourse to war, and he was firmly resolved to respect the Peace of Nuremberg. But he was much displeased at learning that they were confiscating the goods of the Catholics, and that when they were accused before the Imperial Court of such acts of spoliation they appealed to the Peace of Nuremberg to escape being sued at law.

Such behaviour he had no intention of allowing: no one party in the Empire must dare to resort to violence against its antagonists; the sentences of the Imperial Court must be respected and obeyed. With amazement also he had heard of all sorts of conspiracies and military preparations which were directed against himself and his brother; also of intrigues with foreign potentates.[1]

At a later meeting of the Smalcald confederates at Frankfort on the Main, at the end of April 1536, the Dukes Ulrich of Würtemberg, Barnim and Philip of Pomerania, the Princes John George and Joachim of Anhalt-Dessau, and the towns of Augsburg, Frankfort, Kempten, Hamburg, and Hanover were received into the League. In order to raise the necessary money for their subscriptions the council of Ham-

[1] See Charles V.'s letters of Jan. 1, Nov. 30, 1535, and Jan. 28, 1536, in Schirrmacher's *Briefe und Acten*, pp. 340-341. Neudecker, *Actenstücke*, pp. 112-115. Meinardus, pp. 627-629. 'In Caesare nihil crudele, nihil alienum a natura Austriacorum esse fertur; ea una spes est, ut inter humana, pacis,' wrote Melanchthon on Oct. 28, 1535, in the *Corp. Reform.* ii. 960.

burg sold the treasures of silver taken from the churches.[1]

It was with deep regret that the councillors of Frankfort decided on a course which was at variance with the truce of Nuremberg. But they too had reason to fear the verdicts and punishments of the Imperial Court 'and other penalties from the Emperor as supreme judicator in the Empire,' for acts of violence committed against the Catholics, and they sought protection by close association with the confederates of Smalcald. The Frankfort town council, in defiance of Emperor and Imperial Court, had, 'under divine, holy guidance,' suppressed the Catholic form of worship, and suppressed it so completely that the burghers of the old faith did not even dare to attend a Mass in Mayence; for they knew that they would be severely punished for so doing, persecuted by the town mob and pelted with stones and dirt, as had already often occurred. An unfortunate burgher who had dared to have his child baptised according to the Catholic rites in the little town of Höchst, near by, was sentenced to a fine of 100 florins and was denounced by the preacher Limberger, a renegade monk, as a scoundrel and a traitor, who deserved to be driven out of the town as a violator of the decrees of God and of the council. The persecution of the Catholics at Frankfort was not more severe than in other places, but it made a deeper impression in the Empire, because the council of the town showed tolerance to the Hebrew faith and gave protection to the Jews, who were cruelly persecuted in other towns and districts, allowing them the free exercise of their religion in Frankfort.

[1] Gallois, ii. 773, 776.

'It is extraordinary and horrible,' wrote John Cochlæus to the council, 'that you should allow the Jews to go on observing their ceremonies as though they were Christians, while you forbid the Catholic priests to practise theirs, which were introduced among you 600 or 700 years ago, and have been in use down to the present time, and whose suppression is contrary to all law and justice.' The council then, as before, was completely under the dominion of the demagogue preacher Dionysius—a man all-powerful with the mob—and of a few of its own members who 'are not very likely to value honourable conduct in any of the citizens, for they themselves excel rather in debts than in honour.' Melander from the pulpit had persistently incited the people to force their way into the churches: where the council failed in their duty 'the people must discharge it for them with their fists.' 'If the council,' he preached on the occasion of a high festival, 'would not obey the divine word and command, it must be made to feel by the people what the divine word had decreed against dilatory magistrates.'

Iconoclastic riots occurred repeatedly in several churches; the altars were smashed up and desecrated. Melander himself once knocked down a canon of the Abbey of St. Bartholomew; on another occasion he made a violent attack on a prelate. From the pulpit he thundered out the ban against the Pope and the clergy. Nobody, he said, ought to have any dealings with them 'in buying or selling, in eating or drinking,' 'all which occasioned much disgust among the burghers and much quarrelling and fighting.' Alderman Clas Scheit was of opinion that the priests should be hung up over the walls; he would be the

first to help in the job, and he would show them no pity.[1]

At the meeting of the Smalcaldians at Frankfort the proceedings against the Catholics were defended and justified on the ground that in the terms of the Nuremberg Peace or 'armistice' it was only said that 'nobody must declare war against or rob others on account of religion, or for any other reason;' but that it was not forbidden 'to introduce further innovations in ceremonies and Church usages.' The verdicts pronounced by the Imperial Court in matters connected with religion were to be 'cancelled and repealed;' the Smalcaldians themselves were to have the right of deciding by vote what were and what were not matters of religion. As, however, in the case of the newly admitted members, no appeal could be made to the Peace of Nuremberg, it was necessary 'to consider advisedly, and to consult with learned men, what steps were to be taken in these cases for rescinding the measures of the Imperial Court.'

Concerning the course to be taken the 'learned men' drew up a statement in readiness for a meeting of the Smalcald confederates which was fixed for February 1537.

From this 'large and distinguished' gathering of the confederates the 'Evangelical Estates learned unmistakably to what high standing they had attained in the Empire, and that they no longer had cause to fear any one, either Emperor or King.' Personally present

[1] Königstein, pp. 183–195, 219–220; Ritter, pp. 162–170. The preachers had often to be escorted by armed men on their way to church. After six years of preaching they celebrated the first solemn general Communion: only fifty persons took part in it. Their ministry, as they complained, had but scant success. Ritter, pp. 152–162, 202.

at the assembly were the Elector John Frederic of Saxony and the Landgrave Philip of Hesse (the two chiefs of the League), the Dukes Philip of Brunswick-Grubenhagen, Ernest and Francis of Brunswick-Lüneburg, Philip of Pomerania, Ulrich of Würtemberg, three Princes of Anhalt, and the Counts of Mansfeld, Schwarzburg, Henneberg, and Nassau-Saarbrück, besides ambassadors from the King of Denmark, Duke Henry of Mecklenburg, Frederic of Liegnitz, and Ruprecht of Zweibrücken, and from the Margraves George and Hans of Brandenburg; also the delegates or representatives of 29 imperial and provincial towns—Nuremberg, Weissenburg, Windsheim, Strasburg, Augsburg, Ulm, Frankfort, Memmingen, Esslingen, Hamburg, Brunswick, Minden, Soest, Nordhausen, Constance, Kempten, Reutlingen, Lindau, Isny, Biberach, Heilbronn, Schwäbisch-Hall, Bremen, Magdeburg, Lübeck, Hanover, Goslar, Göttingen, and Einbeck. In the retinue of the princes there were about forty theologians and professors, amongst others Luther, Melanchthon, Bugenhagen,[1] Spalatin, Justus Jonas, Agricola, and Amsdorf. Philip of Hesse had brought with him, amongst others, his court preacher, Dionysius Melander, the former Frankfort demagogue, and the humanist Eobanus Hessus. The congress was characterised by a tone of perfect self-confidence and a genial spirit of conviviality. 'By the grace of God,' wrote Eobanus, 'we are getting on splendidly at the congress of Smalcald leaguers; we drink copiously and are sapient in the extreme.'[2]

[1] Concerning Bugenhagen see the monographs of K. Vogt (Elberfeld, 1867) and H. Hering (Halle, 1888). Bugenhagen's correspondence was published by K. Vogt. Stettin, 1888.

[2] See above, pp. 122, 492.

Vice-Chancellor Matthias Held, deputed by the Emperor to attend the meeting, represented to the notables on February 15 how greatly their conduct was at variance with the Peace of Nuremberg. Their demand for exemption from all interference of the Imperial Court with respect to the confiscation of clerical property, and other similar offences, was the cause, he said, of continual disturbance in the Empire. The Emperor had shown plainly at all the Diets that in religion, as well as in other matters, he preferred peace and quiet (even if it were to his own disadvantage) to war and tumult. Even now he was still ready to abide in all respects by the Peace of Nuremberg, but it was against his conscience to allow that those Estates which had pledged themselves in this treaty to maintain the old religion should, 'in spite of their pledges and agreements, fall away from that religion and adopt at pleasure any fresh innovations, and attach themselves to the Smalcald confederates.'

To this remonstrance the Protestants replied that 'it could not be left to the Imperial Court, as the Emperor wished, to decide what were and what were not religious questions; this would be the business of the future General Council. What, for instance, they asked, ought they to do if, in the case of a monastery or convent lying within their dominions, 'some of the monks or nuns, enlightened by the word of God, should come to think monastic life an offence and should wish to leave the cloister,' while 'the remainder should persist obstinately in their evil courses and should want to retain the incomes for their own use?' The Protestants would not be able to comply with the wishes of the latter, because 'it would be a flagrant

offence and irreconcilable with their consciences to tolerate division and discord in their territories and jurisdiction, and to allow the exercise of a religion contrary to their own creed.'

Thus then for the sake of a handful of innovators all the rest were to forfeit their right to ecclesiastical property, and to be deprived of their Catholic Church services and the free exercise of their religion.

'If now,' the Protestant members went on, 'the refractory persons, after leaving the cloisters, should insist on keeping up their former religious practices and retaining their emoluments, under the plea of justice and right, this must by no means be allowed: for if they say that their accursed teaching and religion is right we say the exact opposite.' As for the emoluments and revenues, 'these exist for the sake of the true and proper service of God,' and whereas the Catholic Church service 'is intolerable to the Protestant members' the revenues and emoluments must not and cannot be restored until such time as a Council has decided which teaching is godly and which ungodly. 'For if it should be proved, as indeed nothing else can be proved, that our doctrine, rites, and ceremonies are the right ones, then it stands to reason that these revenues cannot belong to the opposite party, and that no injustice has been committed against them.' Moreover 'such matters rest entirely with the conscience and the word of God.' 'They had full right therefore to repudiate the interference of the Imperial Court.'

The Protestants called an answer of this sort a 'plain indication,' and insisted, on the strength of it, that the Emperor should decree that judgment 'in such

matters should at once be suspended, and that no declaration should be attempted.'

This 'plain vindication' of the Protestants corresponded exactly with a memorandum of advice drawn up by Melanchthon, Justus Jonas, Bugenhagen, Bucer, and other theologians, in which it was said: 'Firstly, there is no doubt whatever that all rulers are bound to put down false religion in their territories and to establish true religion, to provide pastors and schools and necessary maintenance for them. When an unworthy preacher or pastor is deposed and his post filled by a worthy one, the salary must be transferred to the latter. Hence the Protestant princes and Estates have acted quite rightly in that they have abolished the wrong form of worship in the churches and cloisters within their districts, and have seized the Church goods and revenues.' With regard to the cathedral churches in large towns, the towns have done right 'in ejecting the idolatrous priests and the persecutors of the true doctrine, and in appropriating the Church property, as far as they could, to provide for their necessities.' If any one should object that 'the Emperor is the sole patron of Church property, and that it is for him to administer such property and deal with it as he thinks fit,' the answer is a short one. Whereas the Emperor protects and retains unsuitable persons in these benefices, the churches must not wait for his decisions or injunctions in the matter. For instance, the Emperor Decius demanded from Laurence the treasures of the churches. They might then as now have alleged the supreme authority and patronage of the Emperor; Laurence, however, would give him nothing. But the venomous serpents in the Imperial Court, who will not

recognise that the question of Church property is a religious question, will not succeed for all their cunning. For this too is an article of doctrine, 'that the popish priests and monks hold their benefices as thieves and robbers.'

With regard to the new members admitted after the Peace of Nuremberg, the Smalcald confederates informed the Vice-Chancellor Held that 'they could not conscientiously refuse admission to any one. In receiving these members into their league they had done nothing reprehensible or at variance with the Peace of Nuremberg.' 'Therefore his Majesty, as a benevolent and highly renowned Emperor, should rest satisfied with this vindication and should extend to all who joined the league later on the benefits of the Peace of Nuremberg.'

Respecting the memorandum of advice which after the close of the last Congress they had had drawn up by the 'learned men' (that is to say, the jurists), and which they had received meanwhile, the Protestants said that even if the Peace of Nuremberg could not be applied to the new members of the Smalcald league, nevertheless 'the Imperial Court and other tribunals had no right to proceed against the latter in matters of religion, whether directly or indirectly, because such matters, just as much as matters concerning the Estates mentioned in the Peace, ought to be dealt with by a free Christian council.' 'If the Imperial Court, or any other court, should take action in such matters, whether for passing sentence or for punishment, it would be equivalent to open violence or molestation, against which every individual was free to act in self-

defence and entitled to receive adequate support.' 'What lamentable disturbance was likely to result from such behaviour the Emperor with his lofty understanding must be well able to estimate. But they, the Protestants, would be exempt from all blame in the matter. The Emperor, therefore, would do well to enact that all measures of this sort, past, present, and future, should once for all be repealed.' And all this they asked for the sake of peace, in order that 'on both sides order and tranquillity might reign.'

The Vice-Chancellor, however, was not of opinion that the cause of peace and order would be served by arbitrary infringement of the rights of others. 'I for my part,' he said, 'cannot justify any one in laying violent hands on the property of another, from whichever side the offence proceed. It was pre-eminently for the prevention of such acts of violence and spoliation that the Nuremberg truce was arranged by the Emperor, and religious peace proclaimed in the Empire; and everybody ought to be satisfied with that treaty and conform to it.' 'In my opinion,' he added, 'the religious disputes would be much more easily brought to a peaceful and happy issue if there were not all this violent and unlawful seizure of the property of others.' As for the newly admitted members, their names were not even known to the Emperor. A list of these should be given to him (the Vice-Chancellor), with a statement of the terms on which they had joined the league, and he would then lay the whole matter before his Imperial Majesty. Pending the Emperor's answer he begged that the Estates would abide contentedly by the stipulations of the Treaty of Nuremberg. The decision in all these

disputes, which the Protestants called religious and the Catholics profane questions, rested, after due legal examination, with the Imperial Court.

But angrily and threateningly the notables made answer that 'they could not recognise the authority of the Imperial Court, for its members were for the most part of the popish faith and declared that they would be guided by ecclesiastical as well as by secular law in pronouncing judgment: they on their part, however, no longer recognised any ecclesiastical law.' 'When we deprive the priests and monks,' they rejoined, 'who will not accept our true Christian belief and form of worship, of their Church goods, their tithes, and their rents, we are acting altogether in accordance with justice and equity; for these goods were intended for the true service of God, whereas the monks and priests will not conform to this true and rightful service of God.'

As for the toleration of the Catholic Church service in their own land, which was demanded of them, they did not dare, they said, to promise anything of the sort. 'For if we, who have established the true Church of God in our territories,' so ran their declaration, 'were to allow the monks and others to continue their Masses and other abuses and blasphemy of God, side by side with our true worship, we should be participating in their errors to the injury of our souls and our consciences. We should be openly denying the truth of God if we tolerated such abominations in our dominions.'

'But,' they proceeded, 'when the godless seducers, who will not accept the true religion, desire to keep the Church goods, they, indeed, are acting unjustly and covetously.' 'Let them cease to assert their right to

such goods and revenues, although they have had the use of them up till now; for it is they who are appropriating the goods of others.'

'From this it follows further: Because we cannot, without injury to our conscience and our souls, tolerate their ungodly worship, side by side with the true worship, in our territories, and because whatever offends against the conscience carries damnation with it, therefore nobody, who will look at the matter in an unbiassed spirit, will be able to say that such people have any right to complain of deposition or spoliation, or to demand restitution, just as if it were only a question of secular property and rights.' 'To the possession they have hitherto held they cannot lay claim any longer; for when divine truth is made manifest all property, custom, usage, tradition, and length of tenure give way before it. Therefore all the world can plainly see not only that our proceedings with respect to these things are not at variance with the provisions of the Public Peace, the statutes of the Holy Empire, and the common rights of the people, but that they are Christian, honourable, and fitting, that they are based on the Gospel and the Holy Scriptures, and that, God willing, they will gain the day. For by the grace of God we are convinced that we have divine truth and the right faith on our side, and that it would not be seemly in us to give away. And should any one suffer violence on this account we must stand by him for natural and lawful defence. Lawsuits which cause tumult, disorder, and scandal ought to be avoided.'[1]

This was the declaration that Vice-Chancellor Held

[1] See proceedings in Hortleder, *Ursachen*, pp. 1410-1432.

was to present to the Emperor, whose own faith was emphatically described by the Protestants as 'denial of Christ and blasphemy of God.'

A case of 'exceptional spoliation and establishment of the true worship of God' had occurred at Augsburg a few weeks before the meeting of the Smalcald confederates.

On January 18, 1537, the council of this town had presented to the bishop and chapter a document stating that the Mass and the Catholic form of worship must be abolished in the town, because these things were hateful to God; and that nobody, under pain of punishment, must dare any longer to hold Masses and observe Catholic ceremonies; and that the clergy were all to be subject to the municipal authorities. All persons who refused submission to this 'Christian, amicable, and equitable enactment' must, within eight days at the outside, leave Augsburg with their goods and chattels; all who dared either to write, speak, or act in opposition to it, be they high or low, clergy or laymen, would be severely and inexorably punished with disfranchisement, confiscation of property, and imprisonment.

The preacher Bucer had primed the council with the necessary information for its procedure. The members of the council, he asserted, in defiance of all the laws of the Empire, possessed full and unlimited territorial power; to them was committed the control of human existence; they could command and forbid, make and rescind laws and statutes, without being obliged to consult any higher authority. From these high privileges of the council followed the duty to prevent and abolish all that savoured of offence within its

jurisdiction, and to punish each individual according to his deserts. But no murder, no incendiarism, no physical evil of any sort deserved more serious punishment than corrupt doctrine and false religion.

Bucer did not deem it necessary to expend many words in confuting the objection that the Emperor looked on the higher religious foundations as his own foundations, and had repeatedly, by letters and messages, issued express prohibitions of any violent proceedings against them.

'All those,' he said, 'who are confident that his Imperial Majesty will come round in the end to the desire to please God and to act rightly, believe also that he will be only too glad to fulfil his promise of leaving all persons in possession of their rights, and of increasing instead of diminishing the liberties and privileges of the Estates. Undoubtedly the Emperor knows himself to be a man, and capable of erring, and he does not therefore take it amiss when people do not follow his behests, if the latter are found to clash with the honour of God and the common right, as indeed his own laws bear witness. The Emperor is also a child of God, whom the spirit of Christ will lead and enlighten, so that he will in time be brought fully to recognise the iniquity of the papal abuses and to have no dearer wish than that the pure Gospel should be acted up to everywhere.'

In his endeavours to give substantial form to the hopes he placed on the Emperor he delivered himself of the following effusion:—

'Almighty God, in what way has his Imperial Majesty ever acted tyrannically towards us? True he has made known to us in all seriousness what his present will and attitude are with regard to the clergy and

their proceedings; but when has he ever attempted, by force or violence, to coerce us against our reason and our conscience? We see and acknowledge with what wonderful grace and mercy God has acted towards us by means of his Imperial Majesty. And yet we allow ourselves to imagine the very opposite. Who then has bitten us?' (=who provokes us?)[1]

The town council of Augsburg responded to the instructions of the preacher and published a 'Declaration' in which it sought to justify itself for the religious innovations undertaken 'on the strength of its office and authority.' By the abolition of all popish ceremonial the council had not encroached on the bishop's province, but had only exercised its lawful authority, for it was for such purposes that the sword was placed in its hands, and everybody, clergy as well as laity, must be governed by it. The clergy were a wicked set of men who degraded and pauperised the towns; they were promoters of tumult, bent only on the suppression of secular authority; through their fault the people of Augsburg had more than once been robbed, warred against, and plundered, and the blood of numbers of innocent burghers was on their heads. Moreover the council compelled no one to adopt the 'Christian ordinances;' all who objected to them were at liberty to leave the place with their goods and chattels; but all who wished to remain in it must declare themselves in favour of the reforms that had been set on foot, for the town could not cherish a serpent in its midst. The council had no other object than to promote the glory of God and general peace. Emperor and King

[1] Dialogue, Bogen, V³–Z³. What Bucer was capable of in skilful sophistry is shown more clearly in this pamphlet than anywhere else.

therefore, and all the Estates, and all pious Christians ought to absolve the council from all guilt and put no faith in its calumniators.

The accusations made by the council were doubly distressing to a bishop like Christopher von Stadion, who for years past had actually been considered a favourer of the new religionists, and who as a follower of Erasmus had belonged to the party of so-called 'conciliatory theologians.'

In Augsburg, as elsewhere, the religious disturbances and the open mockery of all that had formerly been held in veneration by the people had led to such terrible demoralisation that the council was driven to issuing stern 'penal and police regulations' against the prevalent vices of blasphemy, cursing, perjury, drunkenness, adultery, violence, incest, and bankruptcy. But first on the list of all the vices the council placed resistance to the Christian Church and attempts at restoration of the Catholic Church service. 'All persons who were so "infamous," said the penal code, as to treat with contempt the Gospel of Christ and the Church services established in the town, to repudiate them, and either talk or write against them, to keep away from them and lead others away, or to restore the offensive abuses that had been abolished—all such persons would be punished by the honourable council "in body, life, honour, or property," according to the exigencies of the case.'

The council then proceeded to take forcible possession of the cathedral and the abbey and cloister churches, barricading them and ordering the destruction of their altars and statues. 'The priests, monks, and nuns,' says Schärtlin von Burtenbach in his auto-

biography, 'were driven out of the town on Candlemas Day, 1537, and all the altars and statues of wood and stone were carried off; for which work, and for the prevention of tumult, I had 200 soldiers placed at my command.'[1]

The council had feared armed resistance of the burghers against its proceedings.

These occurrences were reported by the bishop and chapter to the Emperor and the Estates on February 26 in a written document drawn up with great moderation and dignity. The council, they said, had distinctly pledged itself to the Empire at the Diet of Augsburg not to coerce any members of the Catholic Church, or to hinder them in the exercise of their religion. But despite this promise, and in defiance of the Peace of Nuremberg, which forbade all further innovations in religion, the council had abolished the Catholic Church service and seized and plundered the Churches. The pictures and statues 'which, on account of their great age and artistic beauty, we should have liked to preserve intact, had been damaged and destroyed; also many monuments, epitaphs, and memorials of the dead, which were never objected to when we were one in the faith, had been damaged, destroyed, and taken away.' In justification of their conduct the council had complained that the clergy adored saints and images. But this was a false statement. 'We have never adored the dear saints, or taught people to do so; for who would be so foolish as to worship the saints, as if they were themselves the givers of grace? Or who would ever expect to receive any help, or grace, or gifts, from images? We hold, however, with the Christian Church that it is neither

[1] *Lebensbeschreibung*, pp. 45-46.

unrighteous nor an offence against God to have pictures of the saints in our churches to remind us of the Christian examples which they have set us.' 'On the other hand we cannot regard it as right and laudable that the people of Augsburg should thus senselessly have carried off the statue of the holy bishop St. Ulrich, which had stood so long on the Berlach, and stuck up the heathen god Neptune on the fountain in its stead.'

'Because,' the petitioners went on, 'we would not be untrue to our old faith, we, bishop, provost, dean, the whole chapter, and the entire body of clergy, have found ourselves obliged, within eight days and in the extreme cold of winter, to leave our cathedral and mother church, our houses and homes, and to go forth as exiles from the city of Augsburg.'

'The adherents of the Confession of Augsburg declare that they are not bound to yield obedience to the Emperor and the King in matters of religion; but they themselves insist on such obedience being rendered them by their own burghers: in Augsburg it is actually expected from the bishop, who is an ecclesiastical prince and a notable of the Empire. There is not even any truth in the assertion of the council that it was with the consent of the community that they effected these alterations, for they did not submit the matter to the collective bodies of Guilds, which constituted the community, but out of each guild they chose only twelve men, most of whom held their own preconceived opinions, and with these they conferred, and resolved on all these unjustifiable proceedings without consulting the rest of the community. Whether twelve men selected from every guild of about six, seven, or eight

hundred, or even more members, can be said to make up a whole community, any one of intelligence can judge for himself.'

Utterly groundless too, they declared, was the accusation that the bishop and chapter had done incalculable injury to the town. They had never been guilty of forestalling and monopolising, nor had they taken part in commerce of any sort. But it was true on the other hand that the bishops and clergy who had preceded them had built the hospital at Augsburg, and by alms and endowments had placed the institution in a position to afford help to thousands of poor people. Year after year they had furnished the burghers under their jurisdiction with supplies of corn at a reduced rate; they had paid their workpeople honestly; the revenues both of their home diocese and their foreign benefices they had spent in Augsburg, and they had left the citizens every facility for rising to wealth and prosperity: the common people would give them a good testimonial in this respect.

Equally without foundation, they said, were the charges that the bishop and chapter had inflamed the populace, or had caused insurrection by their preaching, or had suppressed the word of God.

'Who the people were who had really caused and stirred up the tumult and insurrection which for several years past had disturbed the town of Augsburg is so plain and manifest that there is no need whatever for us to exonerate ourselves. For it is well known that in our time and under the influence of our preachers the people of Augsburg were always peaceful and orderly, that they dwelt together in unity and in the enjoyment of prosperity. So soon, however, as un-

educated men, and even domestic servants, were allowed to preach in public, then the burgher insurrections, the schisms, the ill-will and sedition all began. There was also a turbulent barefoot friar who had stirred up a tumult, so that it actually came to this: that the word of God was being proclaimed with armour, spears, and muskets.'

The Augsburg affair came also under discussion at the Congress of Smalcald. Vice-Chancellor Held told the Protestants in what a 'criminal manner' the Council of Augsburg, without even waiting for the answer which the Emperor had promised concerning the religious question, had proceeded to act in 'contempt of his Imperial Majesty;' it was impossible therefore, he said, for him to negotiate with the people of Augsburg.

'The Augsburg affair,' wrote Melanchthon from Smalcald to Justus Jonas on March 3, 'did not please the notables; nevertheless nobody gave directions to have things altered.'[1] On the contrary, the notables told the imperial ambassador that the people of Augsburg had sufficiently explained and justified their conduct, and that they could not break off relations with them. In the recess of the Congress they recorded their resolution to 'furnish help and protection to the people of Augsburg in case of their suffering any oppression or violence on account of their religious affairs.'

Neither would they put any blame on their

[1] *Corp. Reform.* iii. 298. On March 2, 1537, Melanchthon wrote to Milichius concerning the affairs of Augsburg: 'Augustana causa, ut metuo, erit classicum belli. Petiverunt a canonicis cives, ut senatui jurarent aut ex urbe discederent. Ita illi discesserunt. *Pellitur e medio sapientia; vi geritur res.*' *Corp. Reform.* iii. 296.

associates at Einbeck, although in that town 'the divine word and holy Gospel' had been introduced with such violence that 'just and honourable persons must at least have blushed at the proceedings.' Because the Augustinian nuns at Einbeck would not commit the sin of betraying their faith and breaking their vows the Council resolved to starve out the refractory sisters by a regular siege of their convent, and they did not desist from their cruel resolution till the nuns let down the first corpse over the convent wall in among the besiegers.

All Vice-Chancellor Held's proposals were disliked. When, by order of the Emperor, he asked for aid against the Turks, the Smalcald leaguers answered that 'so important a matter could only be properly discussed at an imperial Diet. They could not raise the money until they had certain news that the Turks were on their legs, and ready to invade Germany. Moreover they could not contribute any help so long as satisfaction was not granted them as to the Imperial Court. For this was to them a cause of fully as much fear and anxiety as the Turkish danger.' 'They even go to the length,' they said, 'of laying us under the sentence of outlawry, and when this is done our lives and goods are at the mercy of every one. If this goes on, our position with regard to these our antagonists will be the same as our position with respect to the Turks —far worse indeed, for these our antagonists are more hostile to us than the Turks.'

In the Recess of the Congress of March 6, 1537, it was decided that those of the Estates which had already sent help against the Turks should with the utmost haste 'recall and withdraw' their contingents.

When they had learnt positively that the Turks were on the point of attacking Germany, and not till then, they would consider more particularly at a fresh meeting of the league how much each was bound to do.

How thoroughly the Estates believed in a speedy outbreak of war in Germany is shown by a clause in the Recess relating to Dukes Philip and Barnim of Pomerania, who declared themselves ready to pay down 20,000 florins before the 29th of June as a two-months' contribution to the league. 'If, however, the war began before the festivals of Peter and Paul, they would pay up the sum immediately on the commencement of operations.'

The most important business transacted with the confederates at Smalcald in the name of the Emperor and the Pope related to the holding of a General Council.

CHAPTER IX

THE LEAGUE OF SMALCALD VOTES AGAINST A COUNCIL—QUESTION OF AN OPPOSITION COUNCIL—THE WITTENBERG CONCORD

At an interview at Bologna on February 24, 1533, the Pope and the Emperor had mutually pledged themselves to do all in their power to further the convocation of a Council; the Pope had engaged to use his influence in this direction with all the Christian potentates, and also to send nuncios to Germany.[1]

On June 2 the papal nuncio Hugo Rangone, Bishop of Reggio, appeared at Weimar at the court of the Saxon Elector, John Frederic, accompanied by an imperial orator. In the letters of credentials to all the six Electors which the Pope gave the nuncio he called the Elector of Saxony his 'beloved son.' He avoided all mention of the religious contentions and said that, without waiting for the answer of the other Christian princes respecting the calling of a Council, he had thought it advisable, with a view to the speediest possible restoration of peace in the Church, to appoint a representative who should proceed with the salutary work in Germany, and should clear away all obstacles.

[1] Weiss, ii. 1–7. See the *Memoriale Aleandrianum* in Laemmer, *Mantissa*, pp. 139–143. For the maintenance of peace in Italy the Pope, the Emperor, the Dukes of Milan, Ferrara, and Mantua, and the Republics of Genoa, Sienna, and Lucca formed a defensive league at Bologna on February 27, 1533. Weiss, ii. 7–19.

As a basis for further negotiations Clement VII. suggested the following eight proposals:—

The Council should be a free and general one, such as the fathers of the Church had held formerly; those who took part in it must promise to submit to its decisions, otherwise it would only be useless trouble to confer and deliberate at a Council; those who were prevented from attending personally must send representatives; until the conclusion of the assembly no further innovations were to be introduced; as the place for the meeting of the Council the Pope suggested one or other of the three towns Mantua, Piacenza, and Bologna; if any one of the princes should hold so holy a work in contempt, it was, nevertheless, to be proceeded with; and if any should attempt to hinder it, and should resort to force for this purpose, the Emperor and the rest of the princes must support the Pope in maintaining its authority and carry it through; six months after the receipt of answers acquiescing in these articles the Pope would issue writs to summon the Council, which would then meet in the space of twelve months.[1]

The Elector replied to the nuncio that he could not give any decision respecting these articles until he had consulted his fellow believers; and meanwhile he called in the advice of Luther, Justus Jonas, Bugenhagen, and Melanchthon. These four men had all along, from the commencement of the innovations, been anxious for a Council; now, however, that the question of calling one came definitely before them from the part of the Pope and the Emperor, the first three objected to any measure that was in conformity with the ancient

[1] Raynald *ad a.* 1533, Nos. 7–8; Pallavicino, lib. 3, cap. 13.

usage of the Church. 'If we agree to these preliminary articles,' they said, 'it will be as good as retracting and repudiating our confession and apology, annulling and dishonouring all that we have hitherto taught and done, and, worst of all, confirming and countenancing the Pope in all his abominations.' Luther, according to his habit, called the Pope 'a liar, a miserable bloodhound, and a murderer.' 'He will listen to no one, neither to God, nor to Emperor, nor to Empire, nor to us; he wishes to be and to remain a god himself, in spite of all Christians and of the whole world, and to do as he pleases.' At the Council, he said, only 'the word of God' must be arbiter. 'But that they should presume to specify beforehand what the procedure is to be, and where unbiassed judges were to be procured, was a dangerous course. It will be safer for us to see that the Emperor be entrusted, *in genere*, with the procedure. It is for him to keep his eyes open and see that affairs are conducted in an equitable and Christian manner.[1] If he fails in this respect we shall have one more excuse before God and man for not submitting to the Council.'

Melanchthon was of opinion that it was certainly the business of the Pope to summon the Council and to preside over it; but he also objected to the stipulation that they should promise beforehand to submit to its decisions. The Protestant notables answered, in a manner very offensive to the Pope and the Emperor, that they could not agree to the proposed Articles. 'The Holy Scriptures' ought to rule and decide at the Council. If, however, a Council was convoked under the conditions prescribed by the Pope and they were summoned to it, if it was held in Germany and with the

[1] Luther's *Coll. Works*, lv. 14–20.

prospect of promoting the glory of God, they would without fail be present at it, but would reserve to themselves the freedom to accept or reject its decisions, according as the latter should be in harmony or at variance with the Scriptures.[1]

The Council was not convened—according to the Pope's statement in deference to the French King, who considered the disturbed condition of Christendom at that time unfavourable for it,[2] in reality, however, because the Pope himself was afraid of proceeding with it.[3] Clement VII. had all along failed rightly to estimate the danger and significance of the politico-religious movement in Germany,[4] and after a meeting with Francis I. at Marseilles

[1] Walch, xvi. 2281–2289; Bucholtz, iv. 294–295; Pastor, *Reunionsbestrebungen*, pp. 88–89.

[2] Clement VII. to King Ferdinand, March 20, 1534, in Laemmer's *Mantissa*, pp. 144–146; Bucholtz, iv. 296–297. It was with justifiable acrimony that Duke George of Saxony in a letter to the nuncio Vergerius expressed himself as follows concerning the postponement of the Council by the friend of the French, the Pope: 'Vellem quidem sanctiss. Dom. uti boni pastoris consilio, qui animam suam pro ovibus posuit et errabundam ovem ad nonaginta novem oves reportavit, sicque se non vanis gallicis persuasionibus occuparet. Nam cum Franciscus semper nostro imperio malum machinatus sit, quomodo poterit bonum inire consilium deque statu Germaniae aliud proponere, nisi quam favillas Germaniae per flatum suum in flammam excitet, spretaque aquila summum pontificem insultet et Italiae post noviter adeptam tranquillitatem iterum incendium praeparet,' &c., in F. Gess, *Die Klostervisitationen des Herzogs Georg von Sachsen*, pp. 48–50.

[3] The Venetian ambassador, Antonio Soriano, who was accurately informed on the subject, wrote from Rome concerning Clement VII. and the Council, in the year 1535: 'Dal canto di Clementi esso fu fugato con tutti i mezzi e con tutte le vie possibili e la paura di quello, più che ogn' altra cosa, vessò l' anima di Sua Santità, di sorte che per tal causa Ella perdette l'amicizia che avea con Cesare e con altri e finalmente la vita propria.' Albèri, Ser. II. iii. 312.

[4] An exhaustive account of Clement VII.'s behaviour in relation to the schism in Germany will be given in the fourth volume of Pastor's *History of the Popes*. The *Nuntiaturberichte* also contribute much that is new on this subject.

in October 1533 he had again allied himself with this monarch and received from him fresh empty promises.[1] Shortly before his death, however, the Pope discovered that it was the Emperor of Germany and not the French King who was a true pillar of the Church. On September 23, 1534, he thanked the Emperor for all that he had hitherto done for the peace of Italy and of the whole of Christendom, and for the maintenance of the Apostolic Chair. 'I conjure your Majesty,' he wrote, 'by the love of our Lord Jesus Christ, in this my last hour, that your Majesty will preserve the same goodwill towards the Holy Church and the whole of Christendom, and will at all times be solicitous for the dignity of the Holy See and for the peace of Italy, which are both mainly dependent on your power and integrity.'[2]

Clement VII. died on September 25, and on October 13, to the general joy, Cardinal Alexander Farnese, an old man of sixty-seven years of age, was chosen as his successor.[3]

[1] Herminjard, iii. 183–186.

[2] Raynald, *ad annum* 1534, No. 67.

[3] On October 15, 1534, G. da Casale wrote from Rome to Norfolk concerning the election of Paul III.: 'Hujus quidem creationis ingens in urbe gaudium est. Is enim bonus vir et integer omnium opinione existimatur. Antequam huc accederet, dicebat se, si unquam licuerit, Concilium indicturum; suique eum in eadem opinione perseverare affirmant. Certe nulla unquam Pontificis electio sincerior et sanctior exstitit.' In the *State Papers*, vii. 573. On November 4, 1534, Gilbert Cousin wrote to Boniface Amerbach about the Pope: 'Dicitur esse nobilis, doctus et doctorum hominum amans, moribus sobriis ac philosophicis,' in Herminjard, iii. 221, note 10. The Pope signalised his accession to the throne by the appointment of eminent men to the College of Cardinals. See Ranke's *Popes*, i. 147, 213 ff.; Riffel, ii. 505; v. Reumont, iii. division 2[b], p. 491 (Bezold, p. 666). On April 7, 1537, says Hosius in a letter to Reginald Pole concerning Paul III., 'si quis cognoscere cupiat, qui vir sit, qua prudentia intelligentiaque, quibus moribus praeditus, non aliunde facilius et rectius conjecturam fieri posse, quam ex iis, quos in consilium suum adhibendos atque in amplissimo isto dignitatis gradu

He assumed the name of Paul III., and at the commencement of his pontificate at any rate worked zealously to promote the convocation of a General Council. As the Protestants, however, persisted in denying the historical continuity of the faith and religious life of the Church, set up the dead letter of Scripture, with its endless variety of interpretations, as the supreme authority in matters of faith, and refused to abide by any decisions that were not in harmony with their own reading of Scripture, there was very little hope that a Council would be able to restore the unity of the Church and of the faith. But the Catholics were determined 'to hope against hope,' and they lived on in the expectation that the Council would not only bring back the apostates to the true Church, but that it would effect the much-needed improvements in clerical life and discipline, and would also restore unanimity among the Christian Powers with regard to resistance against the Turks. The most zealous advocate of a General Council of the Church was the Bishop of Capo d' Istria, Peter Paul Vergerio, who under Clement VII. had been papal nuncio at the court of King Ferdinand—himself an eager worker in the same cause, and who had become intimately acquainted with the melancholy state of religious affairs in Germany. All that Vergerio had then said in his reports to Clement VII., without, however, making a lasting impression in Rome, he now

ponendos putavit.' Hipler, i. 44. The Consilium delectorum Cardinalium et aliorum Praelatorum de emendanda Ecclesia, in Le Plat, ii. 596 *sqq.* Sadolet's speech in Laemmer, *Mantissa*, p. 204, written and published about November 1536. Dittrich, *Regesten*, pp. 279–288, about July 1537; see p. 102, No. 245. In his earlier days the conduct of Alexander Farnese had left a good deal to be desired. He had a natural son and daughter, who were recognised by him.

reiterated in the most emphatic manner. 'The revolt against the Church,' he said, 'had spread to such an extent, not only in the Protestant districts, but also in the territories of the princes who had remained true to the old faith, that soon there would be nothing left to lose.' Only a Council, Vergerio urged in successive despatches to Paul III., or some other swift and trenchant measures, would be able to prevent the complete overthrow of the Catholic religion; for the bitterness of the Germans against Rome, in consequence of Clement VII.'s conduct, had risen to such a height that nothing short of speedy and direct interference from the Pope would hold the country back from having recourse to a National Council for settling the affairs of the Church.[1]

These repeated remonstrances of Vergerio made so deep an impression on Paul III. that at the end of 1534 he summoned the nuncio to Rome for personal consultation with himself. This was a hopeful turn of affairs. A material improvement on the policy of Clement VII. was now showing itself in genuine endeavours to redress abuses, in greater consideration for the feelings of Germany, in support of the champions of Catholicism in the land, and finally and principally in bringing the question of the Council to a point. Paul III. sent letters of exhortation on this subject to the Emperor and to King Ferdinand, and despatched legates to urge the Christian sovereigns to use all their power and influence to bring about a speedy meeting of the Council.

The legate chosen for Germany was Peter Paul Vergerio. 'I know well,' wrote the latter on August 29, 1535, to one of the papal secretaries, 'that Pope

[1] *Nuntiaturberichte*, i. 1, 311, 312–315, 319.

Paul, a truly good and holy pontiff, has not only sent me to Germany to quiet down the agitations which are feared, but also to prepare the minds of the people, in sincerity and uprightness, for the Council which is really contemplated. The Pope's serious resolve to convene a Council gave immense satisfaction to King Ferdinand I. and to his whole court; and even the Landgrave Philip, who was thoroughly Protestant in policy, to outward appearances put a good face on the business, though at the same time expressing his opinion that it would only be possible to hold a Council in Germany.

At Munich Vergerio encountered very serious difficulties. In this matter also Chancellor Eck was pursuing his usual tactics. Under the semblance of Catholic convictions he made hard and impossible demands, in order to render impossible the Emperor's reconciliation with the Protestants, which would have strengthened the imperial power. At his instigation Duke William suggested to the legates that the Pope ought to prevail on the Emperor to pledge himself, before the convocation of the Council, rigorously to enforce all its decrees 'against the whole German nation,' writes Vergerio, 'if it should become necessary, and with strong military forces.' 'When the Pope had obtained an assurance to this effect from the Emperor he ought at once, without further negotiations with the Electors or others, to open the Council in any Italian town that he preferred, and even without the presence of the Germans, if these did not appear in answer to the simple announcement. Afterwards the Emperor must with a firm hand compel the Germans to abide quietly by the decisions of the Council.' Vergerio

replied that these suggestions could not be carried out, because the German nation was too strong and too obstinate in its sectarianism to be coerced, and because the Emperor was not inclined to resort to forcible measures against the German princes. The Emperor would certainly not consent to 'dominate a Council by force of arms;' all the less, Vergerio said, 'if we hold the said Council amongst ourselves in Italy, without having shown any special regard for the sectarians and schismatics, whose hatred for the religion and the name of Italy will only be increased and rendered unconquerable by such action.' The Emperor even went so far as to wish to waive his own opinion as to the place of meeting in deference to that of the Electors and the other princes. But the legates could not succeed in convincing the Duke. Vergerio, however, read the Chancellor Eck through. 'I am certain,' he wrote, 'that this man has a bad motive for making these proposals. The rulers of Bavaria have for centuries past been enemies of the House of Austria, and even if now and then they have become outwardly reconciled the ill-will has smouldered on in their hearts and the hatred has only been concealed. Hence it may have seemed good policy to the Duke's councillor to entangle the Emperor and the King in this difficult situation, and by means of this matter of the Council to drive his Imperial Majesty, for faith and conscience sake, to take up arms against a united Germany.'[1]

[1] Vergerio to the papal Privy Secretary, Ricalcato, May 30, 1535, in Laemmer's *Monum. Vatic.* pp. 175–176. Concerning Eck's religious position see Riezler's *Bayerische Politik*, pp. 172 ff., where attention is called to the fact that Eck entrusted the education of his only son to Aventin, whose anti-Catholic views cannot possibly have been concealed from him, and of whom he could not therefore expect that he would confirm his

The King of France put even greater obstacles in the legate's way. Now, as before, Francis was working with all his might to prevent a council from being held. 'Whereas the schism in the faith,' wrote a Venetian ambassador, 'has resulted in the heretics almost entirely withdrawing their obedience from the Emperor, the French King fears that if unanimity of religious opinion is restored by means of a Council Germany will unite again in submission to Charles V.[1] Francis I. had already under Clement VII. spread a report at the Roman Curia that the leaders of the Lutheran sect, the Elector of Saxony, the Duke of Würtemberg, and others, were dependent on him,[2] and that he would do all in his power to persuade them to agree to a Council's being held in such a manner and under such conditions as had been customary in the Church from antiquity. At the same time, however, the King said the exact opposite to the Landgrave of Hesse, telling him that he would not agree to a Council such as the Pope wished for, but that he should vote for a free Council. Whilst in France, to the great displeasure of the Pope,[3] he was proceeding most cruelly against the new

pupil in the old faith. Very pertinently Riezler remarks that there is not much to be said about inward religious life in the case of Eck.

[1] 'Perchè così come le diverse opinioni della fede hanno fatto che li eretici poco obbedivano a Cesare, così con il tentare il concilio, il quale può unire e concordare le opinioni, temi che non unisca anco li Germani all' obbedienza sua.' Report of Marino Giustiniani in 1535, in Albèri, Ser I. i. 159.

[2] 'Il rè cristianissimo avendo fatto credere a Clementi *che da lei dipendessero quei principali signori e capi della fazione luterana*, il duce di Sassonia, di Virtemberg e gli altri, fece che sua Santità collocò le speranze sue in Francia.' Albèri, Ser. II. iii. 304.

[3] In the *Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris* in the year 1535 we read: 'Le Pape prioit et requéroit le Roy par ses lettres, vouloir appaiser sa fureur et rigueur de justice en leur' (the new religionists) 'faisant grâce et

religionists; he was representing himself to the Protestant States of Germany as their protector and advocate of their doctrines. In the autumn of 1535, while Vergerio was going the round of the German courts, Francis I. was employing his ambassador, Guilluame du Bellay, to persuade the Protestant princes by no means to consent to a General Council under the presidency of the Pope and the Emperor; for if such a meeting took place all would be over with the Lutheran cause: all matters would be settled by a majority of votes, and most of the countries and provinces at that time were on the side of the Pope and the Emperor. Du Bellay was instructed to direct his energies towards influencing Germany, France, and England in favour of national councils.[1]

Melanchthon was quite right in saying, as he did on October 5, 1535, that he believed the French were working against the Emperor in the matter of the Council, and trying to throw everything into confusion in order to involve the Emperor in a German war.[2]

pardon. Par quoy . . . [le Roy] le modéra et manda à la cour de Parlement de non plus y procéder en telle rigueur.' Herminjard, iii. 311-312. The number of disciples of the new doctrines was very large in France, especially in Normandy, in the year 1531. See Floquet's *Hist. du Parlement de Normandie* (5 vols., Rouen, 1840-1842), ii. 224.

[1] The English ambassador Mont wrote to Henry VIII. from Chalons on September 5, 1535, that 'the French ambassador Langius (Guillaume du Bellay) had said to him: 'Se omnibus modis, tum litteris tum adhortationibus, egisse apud Germanos, acturumque, ne ullo modo in generale concilium consentiat [*sic*]; quia, si concilium hoc tempore haberi contigerit per imperatorem et pontificem, actum esse de caussa Lutheranorum, cum in concilio celebrando omnia agi soleant vocum et suffragiorum pluritate, longeque plures provincias hoc tempore consentire cum cesare et pontifice.' And all the time he was plotting for national councils to be held in Germany, France, and England. *State Papers*, vii. 626.

[2] *Corp. Reform.* ii. 950, 952.

Francis I. made pretence of occupying himself seriously with religious questions, while his extravagant, dissolute court was costing the nation, according to the statement of a Venetian ambassador, the yearly sum of one and a half million *scudi*: the King's mind was set only on living always 'in a whirl of pleasure and amusement, and not troubling himself with thinking about anything; for to think oppressed him more than anything else.' To the public scandal and offence he lived openly with his mistress Anna de Pisseleu,[1] whom he had created Duchess of Etampes; she was a zealous champion of the Protestant religion, which in later years she formally joined.[2] At the instigation of this woman the King wrote a flattering letter to Melanchthon, whom he invited to visit him at his court;[3] and he assured the German Protestants through Du Bellay that he was in agreement with Melanchthon on most points of religion. Amongst other Protestant doctrines, he said, that he fully approved of were those of justifi-

[1] Bryan's report to Henry VIII., March 23, 1531, in *State Papers*, vii. 291.

[2] Sugenheim, *Frankreichs Einfluss*, i. 95. Concerning the libertinism at the court of Francis I. see Capefigue, *Hist. de la Réforme*, i. 196 ff. We get a vivid idea also of this court life, with its revolting mixture of the sacred and the scandalous, from the works of the court poet Clément Marot: 'Il peint le temple de Cupido, dont il compare les rites d'amour et les cérémonies galantes à toutes les pompes de l'Eglise . . . il parle des messes d'amour, des Requiem de Cupido . . .' How entirely different was the court of Charles V., according to the reports of the Venetian ambassadors!

[3] In the letter in which Du Bellay pressed Melanchthon urgently to accept the invitation to France he says of Francis I. (July 16, 1535): 'Intelliges, eum neque a te, neque a dogmatis vestris maximopere esse alienum.' Seckendorf, iii. 109. See Mont's letter to Henry VIII., September 5, 1535, *State Papers*, vii. 626. Henry VIII. interfered actively to prevent Melanchthon's going to France. Mont's letter to Cromwell, September 7, 1535, *State Papers*, vii. 629.

cation, non-freedom of the human will, and the doctrine of the Sacrament. True, the French theologians were struggling hard to retain the doctrine of transubstantiation; but he, Francis, was sole ruler in his own kingdom.[1]

Francis I. in France, like Henry VIII. in England, was ambitious of being supreme lord over the consciences and the faith of his subjects. With regard to the Pope, he too was of opinion that the Holy Father held his Primacy not by divine right, but merely by human investiture.[2]

Du Bellay, by the King's instructions, begged the Smalcald confederates not to consent to a Council without first consulting with him and the King of England.

The majority of the Protestant States, moreover, and their theologians were resolved not to agrée to any of the pontifical proposals. 'By the grace of the Holy Spirit,' Luther said to the legate Vergerio at an assembly at Wittenberg, 'we are all convinced on the matter and we need no Councils,' but 'I will come all the same to the Council, and I will forfeit my head if I do not succeed in defending my opinions against the whole world; what proceeds from my mouth is not my own anger but the wrath of God.'[3] The Elector of

[1] '. . . esse enim solum, qui in regno suo imperet.' Communication of the French ambassador Du Bellay to the confederates of Smalcald, December 20, 1535. *Corp. Reform.* ii. 1014–1018.

[2] The French clergy held a different opinion from the King's. Heynes and Mont wrote concerning them to Henry VIII. in August 1535 that they were 'wholli dedicat to the Bishop of Rome & highly estemith his autorite.' *State Papers*, vii. 623.

[3] Walch, xvi. 2296 ff. Luther had been invited by Vergerio to table. 'He dressed himself in his best clothes, put on a gold chain, had himself carefully shaved and his hair tidily brushed: then he said to his astonished barber that he must appear young in the eyes of the Pope's legate, in order that the latter should think him still capable of under-

Saxony also told the legate that the Protestant doctrine did not rest on human opinions and wisdom, which might err, but on the indestructible rock of the divine word, and that it did not, therefore, require much improving, setting to rights, or criticising by a Council. The Smalcald confederates, in their answer to the proposals of the legate, rejected the idea of any Council 'the order and form of which were to be determined by the Pope;' 'men of integrity, unbiassed by party feeling, must be chosen from all the different Estates, and they must be guided in their decisions by the word of God.'[1]

'The popish Church,' Luther informed the people, 'is the school of Satan, where flagrant sin is taught and where right is suppressed. Any one who can dare to say to Christ, "You are a heretic, and your teaching is from the devil," and knows all the time that it is verily Christ, our Lord and God, whom he is thus scandalously blaspheming to His face, such a one must be possessed not only by seven devils, but by seventy times seven tunfuls of devils. But this is what the popish Church does knowingly and wantonly.'

taking and accomplishing a great deal. The barber suggested that he might offend the Roman lords, to which Luther replied that this was precisely what he wanted to do, seeing how much they had annoyed himself and his followers; it was necessary to deal thus with foxes and serpents. The barber then wished him "God speed," and hoped he might be able to convert the Roman lords. Luther answered: "That I shall not do, but it may be that I shall read them a good lesson, and then leave them to their own devices." As he sat in the carriage with Bugenhagen, who was driving him to the castle of Vergerio, he said laughingly: "Here go the German Pope and Cardinal Pomeranus, the chosen instruments of Almighty God." ' Köstlin, ii. 373.

[1] *Corp. Reform.* ii. 982-989. A synod such as the Protestants called for, says Riffel, ii. 494, would have far exceeded the French national convention in its gigantic dimensions and the motley nature of its constituents.

By such utterances as these, German people, weary of the religious disturbances and longing for a Council, were to be reconciled to going without one.

On June 2, 1536, Paul III., in spite of the war which had been declared between the Emperor and the French King, issued a mandate for the meeting of a General Council, to be held at Mantua in the following May. All allusion to the nature of its constitution, or to former councils, by which the Protestant notables and theologians might have been annoyed, were carefully avoided. Special letters were addressed by the Holy Father to all the Christian princes, informing them of the step he had taken and exhorting the belligerents to peace and concord. He also sent out several new legates. Peter van der Vorst, Bishop of Acqui and a native of the Netherlands, was chosen as nuncio to the German princes. At Vienna and by the Catholics of North and South Germany he was received with respect and courtesy; but by the Protestant princes at the assembly of the Smalcald confederation in February 1537 he was treated with studied contempt.

The Elector of Saxony began by declining to receive him at all; then he refused to read the Bulls and the two pontifical letters presented to him. The Landgrave of Hesse and the Dukes of Würtemberg, Pomerania, and Lüneburg sent word to the legate that he might spare himself the trouble of coming to them. Van der Vorst's behaviour remained throughout calm and dignified. The Imperial Vice-Chancellor Held 'met with similar determined opposition in his endeavours on behalf of the Council.' It was in vain that he urged on the Protestants what trouble the Emperor had taken to bring about the promised Council, and

that now the long-looked-for event was really to take place, that most of the other countries and most members of the Empire were in favour of it; it ill became them to set themselves up for being more enlightened or more zealous for the faith than all the rest of Christendom. The Pope offered them this Council without restricting the subjects to be discussed and without laying down any conditions; and even if it was not to be held in Germany the place of meeting was in one of the fiefs of the Empire and close to the borders of Germany. This Council would be the means of restoring unity to the Church and tranquillity to the Fatherland, which threatened to become a resort for wild beasts rather than a peaceful sheepfold, and would promote among Christian nations the concord and harmony necessary for joint resistance to the Turks.'

For the German nation this was a moment as critical and significant as the year 1523, when, at the Diet of Nuremberg, Pope Adrian VI. turned with confidence to his fellow-Germans and appealed to them for help in the maintenance of ecclesiastical unity and of good order in the Empire. As in the days of Adrian so too now, there was ardent zeal at the papal court for the reform of clerical abuses and the revival of Church discipline. The General Council would furnish the best means to these ends. If, however, it was put a stop to, 'there would scarcely be any hope,' as the legate foresaw, 'of reuniting all the scattered and disjointed elements, of healing the wounds of the nation, and of arriving at any combined action for the redress of abuses.'[1]

[1] Fabri Farragines, fol. 21. Extensive preparations for the Council were made by the Catholics. As regards the preliminary labours of Cardinal

Melanchthon also trembled at the prospect of a continuous schism. 'It is grevious to me in the extreme,' he wrote to his friend Camerarius, 'to see that this state of discord may possibly last on to another generation, and that it is likely to result in terrible barbarism and the ruin of all the arts and of all civil order among our people. Even now this barbarism finds favour with men whose greatest interest would be to oppose it.'[1]

Melanchthon therefore made a fresh attempt at the meeting of Smalcald to enforce his opinion that summary opposition should not be made to the convocation of a Council, for although the Pope could not be accepted as judge at the Council it was at any rate his business to convene the assembly.

The princes were of a different opinion, and it was they who finally settled the question.

To Melanchthon himself fell the task of composing the document in which an attempt was made to justify opposition to the Council. 'I am filled with sorrow and distress,' he wrote; but he submitted to the princes because, he said, 'he could not refuse without causing a scandal.'[2] The unhappy man considered himself

Contarini, a statement of which was presented to the Pope, see Dittrich, *Gasparo Contarini*, pp. 333-339; see also the memorial drawn up for the Pope by the Bishop of Vienna, John Faber, in Raynald, *ad. an.* 1536, No. 37. For the papal *Instructio* see Pastor, *Reunionsbestrebungen*, pp. 481-482. Concerning the report spread by Protestants that the Pope was not in earnest in promoting the Council, Melanchthon wrote to Brenz on Dec. 6, 1536: 'Etsi enim imperiti homines propter Gallici belli famam securi rident mentionem Synodi, tamen sciunt principes, mirifice incumbere in hanc curam adversarios, ut quam primum coëat Synodus, quod quo consilio tantopere cupiant, variae sunt opiniones.' *Corp. Reform.* iii. 201.

[1] *Corp. Reform.* iii. 293.

[2] On March 3, 1537, he wrote to Justus Jonas: 'Moestitia et dolore conficior.' On March 15, to Camerarius: '. . . quia sine scandalo non possim me avellere.' *Corp. Reform.* iii. 35.

'born to servitude, and indeed to servitude of a hard nature.' In the document drawn up by him the Protestants were made to declare that 'the Pope had called their doctrine heretical, thus condemning it already in advance; but if they, on their part, should dare to accuse the Pope of false doctrine and ungodliness his Holiness himself, with his bishops, bound by oath to support him in all things, would be the judges who would have to pronounce decision in the case. Mantua was not a safe place for the Council to meet in; the reigning Duke there was not sufficiently known to them; besides which they could not spare their theologians and preachers to leave the country. They were certain about their doctrine, for it was 'without doubt the true teaching of the Catholic Church of Christ.' They had not set up any new dogmas, but only revived and explained the true doctrine of the primitive Catholic Church. It was not they who were to blame for the existing schism; for they 'could never separate themselves from the unity of the Catholic Church.'[1]

Such was the tenour of the answer which the confederates of Smalcald sent in to the papal legate and the imperial Vice-Chancellor.

In the Recess of the Congress of Smalcald, dated March 6, 1537, the notables pledged themselves 'in future also to combine together to a man in the proceedings of the Council.' For there were many ways, they said, by which 'they and the preachers belonging to their party might be molested.' No one Estate, therefore, must consent to the holding of a Council without the unanimous agreement of all, not even if the Pope should offer to give the secular Estates a voice

[1] See Pastor's *Reunionsbestrebungen*, pp. 93 ff.

in the decision and to allow the dissensions to be judged according to Scripture. It was quite possible that his Holiness would one day make this proposal, because in any case he was sure of a majority on his side. The papal legates Aleander and Campeggio were now proved to have been quite right in their reiterated declarations that the Protestants, though they were always appealing to a General Council, were not in earnest in wishing for one.

The Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse, however, were not satisfied with the mere rejection of the Council. They must follow the example of the Greeks and the Bohemians, the Landgrave proclaimed through his theologians and the Vice-Chancellor Ferrarius, and hold an anti-papal, evangelical, national Council on their own account. The Saxon Elector, at the Congress of the Smalcald confederates, had already said how extremely important he thought it that Luther should collect together in writing all the articles of faith that he had hitherto taught and preached, and that 'in conjunction with episcopal coadjutors and preachers' he should call together a 'free Christian Council.'

In response to the Elector's wish Luther drew up the so-called Articles of Smalcald, which differed in several important points from the Confession of Augsburg, and were much more strongly worded, especially the parts relating to the Holy Mass and to the Pope. The Mass was 'the hugest and most terrible abomination, a dragon's tail, in the track of which followed innumerable abuses, vermin, reptiles, &c. &c. The Pope was the Antichrist, because he exalted himself above all

other bishops; for in so doing he had set himself up above God and Christ, which not even the Turks and the Tartars thought of doing.'

'In fine, he is purely and simply a devil, for over and against God he pushes on his lies about Masses, purgatory, monkery, good works, and divine service, and damns, kills, and persecutes all Christians who refuse to extol and honour these abominations of his above all things. As soon, therefore, can we adore the devil himself for our lord or god as we can tolerate the rule of his apostle, the Pope or Antichrist. For to lie and to murder, to send body and soul to eternal damnation, this is in truth the popish rule.' 'We must not, then, kiss his feet and say, "You are my gracious lord," but rather repeat the words of the angel to the devil in Zacharias: "God punish thee, Satan!"'[1]

The Elector was beyond measure delighted with these articles. He firmly believed, he said, that every word that Luther taught was divine and proceeded from the word of God, and that it behoved everybody to acknowledge this who did not wish to come under the terrible curse: 'Whosoever denies me before men, him will I also deny before my Father which is in heaven.' The Saxon theologians were all required to attest their belief in these articles by affixing their signature to them. The majority of them complied with the injunction.

With regard to the 'free Christian council' which Luther and his 'brother bishops and ecclesiasts' were

[1] *Collected Works*, xxv. 109–146. The most revolting libels issued anonymously against the Council (see Voigt, *Pasquille*, pp. 418–429) fall far short of Luther's language. It is also the opinion of Bezold (p. 677) that the Articles of Smalcald are an open declaration of war against the papacy, and could in no way serve as a basis for conciliar deliberation.

to convoke, the Saxon Elector had made the following stipulations: 'At this free council nothing was to be proposed or settled that was not based on the divine Scriptures.' 'No human decrees, ordinances, or writings shall be adduced in matters which belong to faith and conscience.' 'Any person or persons infringing this rule shall not be attended to, but shall be compelled to keep silence.' 'The Emperor must be informed by a thoroughly respectful notification that it is proposed to hold such a Council, and that it must meet at Augsburg.' The Elector actually entertained hopes that the Emperor would himself attend the Council, which was to be convoked by Luther.

An army of 15,000 infantry and 3,000 cavalry was to be raised at Augsburg to serve as a body-guard for the Council. And in order to give due dignity to the assembly at least 250 preachers and jurists were to be present at it.[1]

But Luther was incapacitated from carrying out this plan by a severe attack of stone, with which he was seized soon after his arrival at Smalcald, and by which his life was endangered. On his sick-bed he amused himself with making ghastly rhymes denouncing 'those wicked knaves the devil and the Pope.' 'I should like to live till Whitsuntide,' he said, 'in order that I may attack the Roman beast, the Pope, and his empire, more fiercely than ever in print. This I will surely do if God leaves me in life; and no devil shall prevent me. Oh for a Turk to kill me instead of perishing with strong and sound body in my own water! Willingly would I die were not that devil's legate at

[1] *Corp. Reform.* iii. 139–144. See Pastor's *Reunionsbestrebungen*, p 95.

Smalcald to proclaim to the whole world that Luther died of fear!'

Luther left Smalcald during the proceedings of the meeting there, and 'in the travelling coach he made his last will and testament, bequeathing to his friends the preachers his hatred of the Pope; they were to maintain open hostility towards all the popish idolatry till the end of their days; for God had already condemned the Antichrist, and there would no longer be any one found to uphold or defend his abominations by force or writing.'[1]

But it was not Luther's illness alone which put a stop to the convocation of this opposition Council.

When the idea of such a Council had first been suggested in the year 1533, the Saxon theologians had objected to it, chiefly because, as they said, 'a mandate of this sort will go for nothing so long as people see that we are not united among ourselves.' 'We must first of all consider,' said Luther, Jonas, Bugenhagen,

[1] Keil, *Luther's Lebensumstände*, iii. 92–105. Carl Adolf Menzel, i. 283–284, writes: 'Luther attributed his sufferings to the devil repaying him for having overthrown the Pope's power. Thus his former idea of Pope and devil being leagued against him gained new strength, until at last his mind became unable to distinguish between his two enemies. Each attack of pain caused vehement bursts of anger against its supposed authors. On leaving Smalcald he called out to the preachers who saw him off: "God fill you with hatred for the Pope!" Such an exhortation was superfluous with men whose convictions were dictated by Luther's opinions and favoured with the approval of the mighty. They boasted of their independence of human law and raged against what they called the institutions of man, whilst all the time they were drawn closer into the narrow circle of doctrines and formularies which a man of superior personality and peculiar drift of mind had collected from the vast field of religious ideas and declared to be the only truth, the only possible view and expression of Christianity. The spirit of partisanship had now reached the height of its fury.'

and Melanchthon, 'by what means we can come to agreement among ourselves.'

Since then, however, the dissensions among the preachers and the general confusion in matters of religion had increased from year to year. 'The religious dissensions which are so cruelly rending Church and State distress me more than I can say,' wrote Melanchthon in 1536.[1] 'Weak consciences are perturbed,' he said elsewhere; 'they do not know which sect they ought to follow. And in their perplexity they begin to doubt all religion.'[2]

'Crowds flock eagerly to hear those demagogic preachers, who widen the boundaries of liberty and break down the barriers of the passions; who discourse more like cynics than like Christians, and trumpet abroad that it is a false idea that good works are necessary. Posterity will wonder that there should ever have been a century so insane as to tolerate madness of this sort.'[3] The general overthrow of the Church must be the inevitable consequence.

On his return from a journey into the Palatinate and to Suabia Melanchthon wrote in November 1536 to Myconius: 'If you had been with us on our travels, and had seen the lamentable way in which churches have been destroyed in many places, you would, I am sure, wish for nothing so much as that the princes and men of learning might strike out some plan for coming to the rescue of the Church.'[4]

[1] *Corp. Reform.* iii. 178.

[2] 'Infirmae conscientiae perturbantur, nesciunt utram sectam sequi debeant. In eo errore incipiunt de tota religione dubitare.' *Ibid.* iii. 230.

[3] *Ibid.* iii. 357. See Döllinger's *Reformation*, i. 373.

[4] *Corp. Reform.* iii. 187.

'Do but see,' he laments in the following year to his friend Veit Dietrich, 'what great danger the churches are everywhere exposed to, and how difficult it is to govern them; for everywhere the officials do nothing but quarrel amongst themselves and foster enmity and strife.' 'We live like nomads; nobody obeys anybody else in anything.'[1]

Under these circumstances no very satisfactory results for the Protestant party could be expected from an opposition Council.

But there was at least one matter of dispute, the cause of untold vexation and distress of conscience, which 'must be set aside, or at any rate kept dark from the people'—namely, the controversy with the Zwinglians respecting the Lord's Supper. The removal of this source of disagreement would make it possible for the Swiss to accept the Confession of Augsburg, and 'for the Swiss and the Germans to join together in brotherly concord against the papists and their devilish doctrines.' Martin Bucer had for a long time entertained doubts as to the possibility of formulating the doctrine of the Eucharist in a manner acceptable both to Zwinglians and Lutherans; and he had therefore, in accordance with the 'philosophy of concealment' recommended by Melanchthon, 'persistently endeavoured to cover up every controversy with the Lutherans.'

The preacher Ambrosius Blarer held in like manner that 'here, if anywhere, dissimulation was allowable.'[2]

[1] *Corp. Reform.* iii. 460, 488. Sebastian Franck, *Cosmographie*, 163*a*, says: 'Men will and must have a Pope; they will steal one or dig one out of the earth, and if you take one from them every day they will soon find a new one.'

[2] See Bucer's and Blarer's letters of Dec. 12 and 23, 1531, in Th. Pressel's *Ambrosius Blaurer's, des schwäbischen Reformators, Leben und Schriften*, pp. 232–233.

Later on, however, Bucer, who was indefatigable in his endeavours at reconciliation, thought he had hit upon a form which would satisfy both parties, and he discussed the matter first with Melanchthon at Cassel, at the eager instigation of the Landgrave of Hesse, who, being chiefly guided by political considerations, always regarded the controversy about the Sacrament as altogether superfluous. In order that the hands of 'the papist murderers and bloodhounds' might not be strengthened by want of unity among the Protestants, Luther, in spite of his previous condemnation of the Sacramentaries, had later on, in a letter to the Landgrave, declared himself in favour of an accommodation.[1] In an explanatory statement addressed at the same time to Melanchthon at Cassel he appealed not to the Scriptures only, but to 'the invariable teaching of the Church,' in support of his doctrine of the Lord's Supper, and said emphatically that 'it was very dangerous to assume that the Church which had existed for so many centuries, and had been the instructor of the whole of Christendom, should not have taught the true doctrine of the sacraments.' But no doubt 'their opponents had had conscientious reasons for adopting a different doctrine,' and so he was willing to tolerate them.[2] He declared himself satisfied with the ingenious doctrinal explanations of Bucer, which Melanchthon brought with him from Cassel, and wrote brotherly letters to the Zwinglians at Augsburg and Strasburg, assuring them that 'the way was paved for reconciliation.' For the final accomplishment of this object Bucer and several South German preachers came to Wittenberg in May 1536.

But they found a different Luther from the one they

[1] De Wette, iv. 559-560. [2] *Ibid.* iv. 570-572.

had expected. Shortly before their arrival the Elector of Saxony had enjoined Luther to stand unalterably by the Confession of Augsburg and its Apology, to hold firmly to these, and not to give way to the preachers in any single point or article. Luther acted according to these directions, but at the same time reproached the South German preachers with being slavishly subservient to their magistrates in all ecclesiastical matters. They were aiming, he told them, at bringing about an accommodation by crafty dissimulation, and were attempting to deceive himself and his friends by double-dealing. He required of them that they should make a full and frank recantation of all that they had hitherto taught, and openly acknowledge their errors, and that they should subscribe to a formula of doctrine drawn up by himself, with which no other views than his should be mixed.

When the Augsburg preacher Wolfgang Musculus exclaimed once, in amazement at such presumption, 'Good heavens! what a life we lead! Must we then worship and fall down at Luther's feet as if he were the Pope? We shall simply come round in the end to another form of papacy!' the Lutheran preacher Schradin answered: 'What devil has ordered you to come here and worship him? Did Luther send after you? Hear now, Mr. Mouse' (a pun on his name); 'you'll see greater wonders still; we shall soon find out which of the two is the cleverer, Bucer or Dr. Luther.'

And this was indeed very speedily discovered.

Bucer, overmastered by Luther's firmness and decision, began by making a confused answer, then excused himself on the plea of misunderstandings, and ended with a word-for-word rehearsal of Luther's

opinion that 'the real body of Christ is received not only by worthy communicants with the heart and the lips to their salvation, but also by the unworthy, with the lips, to their judgment and condemnation.'

A formula for concord drawn up by Melanchthon was signed by both parties on May 25, 1536. This formula rejected Transubstantiation and the presence of Christ, except at the time of celebration and partaking, but allowed that the virtue and efficacy of the Sacrament did not depend on the worthiness or unworthiness of the recipient or the officiating clergyman.

Luther had won a great victory over the South German preachers. Whatever the latter might still think in their hearts about the formula, they had at any rate, in opposition to all their teaching, confessed with their lips and affirmed with their signature that the veritable body of Christ was partaken of in the Sacrament by the unworthy as well as by the worthy, and actually eaten with their mouths—that is to say, that Christ was present in the Sacrament in the sense which Luther taught.

The Landgrave Philip of Hesse forthwith signified his acquiescence in the 'concord.' Up till then he had had the doctrine of the Eucharist expounded according to a unionist formula drawn up by himself; now, however, he instructed the preachers to preach the doctrine from the pulpit in accord with the Wittenberg formula. In the southern towns, on the other hand, especially at Ulm and Constance, this formula met with fierce opposition. Several towns actually contemplated summoning a congress of the cities, at which a formal protest should be entered against the 'concord.' But as the towns could obtain no support against the

Emperor, except from the League of Smalcald, they withdrew their opposition out of political considerations, and sent in their assent to the Wittenberg concord. After the magistrates of Memmingen, Kempten, Esslingen, Reutlingen, Augsburg, and Frankfort on the Main had signified their approval the town of Ulm also sent a letter of acquiescence to Luther.

But the Protestant burghers were not so amenable as the magistrates. Hopes had been entertained that it would be possible to keep the Wittenberg articles a secret from the people: 'only the preachers and municipal authorities were to know about them.' This hope, however, proved utterly futile. The people got knowledge of the articles, and were as indignant at them as they had been at the subserviency shown at Wittenberg. At Ulm the preacher Johann Frecht was openly derided; letters threatening him with the gallows were sent to him at his house. The extraordinary excuse urged by him that the town council, on the introduction of the new religion, had reserved to itself the right of introducing further changes, was without effect. Three-fourths of the population of Ulm fell away from the preachers; at Memmingen, Kempten, Lindau, and Isny also the coalition of the magistrates with Wittenberg was a fruitful source of internal dissensions.

But far greater difficulties even than those proceeding from the South Germans confronted Bucer and others of the moderate theologians among the Swiss Zwinglians, who had no special reason for considering the Smalcald confederates. In order to induce the Swiss to accept the formula, Bucer hit upon the device of pointing out, in a separate exposition of this document,

that it was in harmony with the doctrine promulgated by Zwinglius and Oecolampadius; that there was not a word in it but what they could agree to on the strength of the creed they had hitherto held.

Nevertheless the Swiss wanted assurance from Luther's own lips; they addressed themselves to him with the question whether he recognised Bucer's explanation as his own. In order to prevent any possibility of further deception they laid before him the copy of the explanation which was signed by Bucer's own hand, and sent him besides a new written declaration of their doctrine, in which it was clearly and explicitly stated that they could not believe in any but a spiritual participation of the body of Christ at the Communion service, that there was no warrant for faith in a bodily presence, still less in a bodily feeding on the flesh of Christ. For Christ in His human nature—that is to say, in the flesh—was nowhere else than in heaven. Only in so far as the Wittenberg formula could be made to coincide with this creed and these fundamental ideas would it be possible for them to subscribe to it. Bucer himself brought the letter and the declaration of the Swiss Zwinglians to the assembly at Smalcald in February 1537.

On this occasion also the secular authorities decided the question, but in a different sense from the judgment pronounced by them when the matter had been under discussion at Wittenberg.

The Elector of Saxony considered that, under the existing circumstances with regard to the Pope and the Emperor, a change of policy towards the Swiss was imperatively called for.

It was accordingly resolved at Smalcald to make it

easier to the Zwinglians to accept the Wittenberg concord by professing satisfaction with their declaration and confession of faith.[1] Luther at first raised serious objections. 'The best thing would be,' he said to Bucer, 'for you people to say out plainly and honestly: "Dear friends, God has allowed us to fall into error; we have been mistaken and we have taught false doctrine; let us now be wiser and learn the truth."'[2] But after the Elector had changed his attitude Luther also changed his language. On December 1, 1537, he wrote a letter to the towns of Zürich, Berne, Basle, Schaffhausen, St. Gall, Mülhausen, and Biel. It was to be expected that he would have made some objections to Bucer's interpretation of the Wittenberg formula, especially as the Swiss had asked him for his explanation of it. But Luther said nothing against Bucer in this letter; on the contrary he praised his efforts at mediation. If he (Luther) and the Swiss, he said, were not able to understand each other fully, Bucer and Capito 'would know how to make all plain between them and to clear up all difficulties.' 'I trust entirely to their doing it all with the utmost loyalty and attention.' Respecting the point of dispute in the question of the Sacrament, Luther quieted his conscience with assuring them that he also did not believe that Christ descended from heaven either visibly or invisibly in order to be present in the Sacrament; in what manner the body and blood of Christ were imparted at the Lord's Supper he left to Divine Omnipotence. Of the actual presence, or of the participation of unworthy communicants, he said no word. 'As to any points,' he said, 'on which we cannot quite come to an understanding, it is best that

[1] Planck, iii. 387–389. [2] *Collected Works*, lxv. 93–94.

we should leave them for the present, and keep on friendly terms together till the troubled waters have subsided.'

Thus the Swiss Zwinglians found themselves in possession of Luther's explicit statement that he had no objection to their accepting the Wittenberg formula according to their own interpretation. They were even at liberty to understand from his letter that he had formally revoked his earlier remarks on the difference in their doctrines.

As the Lutherans had triumphed in the matter of formulating the Wittenberg concord, so now the Zwinglians regarded themselves as the conquerors. At a convention at Zürich some of the preachers urged that 'Luther ought now formally to revoke what he had said in his first pamphlets against Zwingli and Carlstadt.'

Now that both parties were allowed to interpret the Wittenberg concord as they liked, the Swiss also assented to it. To gratify the Swiss, Melanchthon, under Luther's eyes, omitted in a new edition of the Latin text of the Augsburg Confession published in 1540, the formal condemnation pronounced in Article 10 of the first edition against the Zwinglians, and instead of the original declaration that 'the body and blood of Christ are veritably present in the Eucharist' confined himself to the statement 'that the body and blood of Christ are veritably presented together with the bread and wine.' [1]

[1] Already in the year 1537 Luther had made use of this definition in his first draught of the so-called Articles of Smalcald, but Amsdorf, Agricola, and Spalatin, to whom, by command of the Saxon Elector, the draught had been submitted, insisted on his leaving it out. See Heppe, *Geschichte des deutschen Protestantismus*, i. 167, and Köllner, p. 443, note 4.

What opinion Melanchthon personally held on the Sacrament of the Altar, Luther himself did not know. He could not tell, so he said in October 1537 to the Saxon Chancellor Brück, 'how Philip felt about the Sacrament, for he never called it anything else, or indeed treated it as anything beyond a mere ceremony; and he had not seen him for a long time partaking of the Lord's Supper.' [1]

The Zwinglians objected greatly to the elevation of the host and the chalice, which was still practised at the solemnisation of the Mass in the Lutheran churches, although Luther had rejected the Catholic doctrine of sacrifice and transubstantiation at the Mass. Bells were also rung at the benediction of the bread and wine and at the elevation, and the worshippers knelt down and beat their breasts. The greater the veneration for the Mass had been among the Catholics of all classes, so much the more moderately had Luther thought it advisable to proceed with his innovations.

Even when he first began to oppose the doctrine of the sacrifice of the Mass he had felt a desire to 'put a stop to the elevation,' but, he said, 'because our teaching was quite new at that time, and offensive in the extreme to the whole Christian world, I was obliged to proceed cautiously, and for the sake of the weaker brethren to leave much undisturbed which I no longer tolerated later on. I left the ceremony of elevation intact, because a good interpretation might be put on it—namely, that it was an old custom taken from Moses, and which had been perpetuated by the early Christians. The Wittenberg canonists, according to Melanchthon's statements, were among the number

[1] *Corp. Reform.* iii. 427.

of the weak ones whose feelings Luther wished to spare.

Even during the negotiations relating to the Wittenberg concord the Saxon theologians were unwilling to accede to the demand of the Zwinglian preachers that the elevation, together with Mass vestments and lights on the altar, should be done away with; for they feared this would give rise to a tumult among the people.[1] What the preachers could not effect, however, the Landgrave of Hesse succeeded in accomplishing. Through his persistent personal exertions the practice of the elevation was later on abolished in the Saxon electorate. Philip boasted that this had been done through his exhortations.[2]

The secular authorities decided for Luther respecting the elevation, as they had previously decided for him concerning the introduction of the German Mass.

[1] See Hassencamp, ii. 185 *sq.*

[2] See Hassencamp, ii. 185–187. The prohibition of the elevation had to be renewed in Saxony in the year 1565: in Brunswick-Lüneburg it was necessary to repeat the prohibition as late as the year 1657. The practice endured in Holstein until towards the end of the eighteenth century.

APPENDIX

Note I. p. 10

The now current assertion that Pope Clement VII. absolved the King of France from the oaths taken at Madrid is first met with in a long letter from the Emperor to the Pope, dated September 17, 1526. The Emperor says guardedly: '. . . Et sunt qui affirmant quod vestra Sanctitas etiam Gallorum rege non petente eidem juramentum relaxaverit, quod nobis praestiterat pro foedere nobiscum prius inito' (Goldast, 'Pol. Imperialia,' p. 1002). Next Sepulveda clothed the story in rhetorical phrases ('Opera,' Madrid, 1780). Guicciardini and Jovius, although ever ready to find fault with the Pope, make no mention of this matter. During the protracted and very bitter recriminations between Charles V. and Francis concerning the rupture of the peace of Madrid, Francis never appealed to a papal absolution to defend himself against the reproach of dishonourable and cowardly conduct levelled at him by Charles. He only declares in a general way that his princely friends and allies shared his own opinion, viz. 'that he was not bound to keep pactions extorted from him by force, and that were dishonourable, unworthy, harmful to the kingdom.' Cf. *e.g.* Goldast, 'Pol. Imp.' p. 866; Lanz, 'Correspondenz,' i. 267.

Note II. p. 13

Ibrahim's own narrative in the report of Ferdinand's ambassadors (Gevay, i., *ad an.* 1530, pp. 43–44). The French King, said Ibrahim, after his release from captivity, had expressed his gratitude to the Sultan for the help promised him: all his life he would feel obliged to the Sultan, and, as soon as his health allowed it, he would come in person to Constanti-

nople 'to kiss the feet of his faithful lord and friend and to show his thankfulness.'

Note III. p. 19

'I greatly wonder,' says the anonymous author of a letter written in Bohemia, 'that the Lutheran Duke John of Saxony has come forward as a candidate; rather than elect him the Peham (Bohemians) would long have remained without a king. The poor Peham have invoked God with such fervour, have had Masses said and processions held in all their towns and villages, and have observed fasts, that God may grant them a good Ruler and Protector!' ('Böhmische Landtagsv.' i. 76). According to the articles agreed to at the Diet of October 8, no Lutheran candidate had any hope of success.

Note IV. p. 31

Maurenbrecher remarks: 'Luther's idea of a Christian community met at the very outset with considerable practical difficulties. To mention only one stumbling-block, who was to decide whether So-and-so belonged to the community of believers? Luther never answered this or similar questions: perhaps they did not occur to him. Again, there is a long step from the community or congregation to the Church. The great problem consists in forming a constitution which embodies the single communities in a whole firm-set Church organisation. Nowhere in Luther's writings do we find a sufficient transition, a solid bridge, leading from the community to the Church.'

Note V. p. 54

Seidemann ('Der Mainzer Rathschlag,' p. 682) tells us that Luther's pamphlet, already in print, was not published, thanks to the intervention of the Elector John of Saxony. The following year, however, Luther found occasion to accuse the clergy of Mayence 'of having contrived, by their murderous "Rathschlag," to set the German princes against each other and

drown Germany in blood.' See Consolatory Epistle to the Christians of Halle, 1527, 'Coll. Works,' xxii. 298.

Note VI. p. 75

A. Kluckhohn ('Der Reichstag zu Speier in 1526,' in v. Sybel's 'Hist. Zeitschrift,' lvi. 193–218, p. 194) says: 'Janssen flatly contradicts the current interpretation of the recess of 1526; he denies that it contains any acknowledgment of the territorial Church system. Ranke, on the contrary, sees 'the legal foundation of the territorial Church system' in the words: 'The Estates have unanimously agreed that until the meeting of the Council they would live, act, and rule their subjects in such wise as each one thought right before God and his Imperial Majesty.' But on further examination Kluckhohn adopts Janssen's views (p. 218). W. Friedensburg ('Der Reichstag zu Speier, 1526'), having made an exhaustive study of the question, comes to the same conclusion (p. 428). Möller-Kawerau ('Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte,' p. 66) also admit Janssen's reading of the recess.

Note VII. p. 101

'Our Evangelicals,' says Luther in another passage in 1529, 'are becoming seven times worse than they were before; for, after learning the Gospel, we steal, lie, cheat, eat and drink to excess, and are given to all sorts of vice. One devil has been driven out of us, but seven others, worse than he, have come into us: this is manifest in princes, lords, nobles, burghers, and peasants, who all live without fear of God and His threats' ('Coll. Works,' xxxvi. 411).

Note VIII. p. 102

Luther saw everywhere 'a great flood of sinful ingratitude towards the dear Evangel.' 'The nobles gather in, extort and steal of the princes and others what they can, especially of the poor churches; like vile devils they trample on pastors and preachers. Likewise the burghers and peasants are given

to avarice, usury, deceit; they are impudent and insolent; they fear nothing and go unpunished; the cry goes up to heaven, and the earth can bear it no longer.' And again, some time later: 'On the whole burghers and peasants, men and women, children and servants, princes, officials, and subjects are all of the devil.' 'Peasants, burghers, and nobles are now, in the light of the Gospel, more avaricious, proud, and overbearing and ten times worse than they were under the papacy.' 'Should we have to baptise the adults, in truth I deem not one in ten would submit to the rite.' 'Collected Works,' 9, 330, vol. 6, 8, 10.

Note IX. p. 106.

At the peace of Thorn, 1466, the Teutonic Order had been compelled to hand over to Poland the western part of Prussia and to become its feodary for the eastern part. This treaty of peace, accepted under the stress of necessity and extremely detrimental to the suzerainty of the Empire, had been declared null and void by Maximilian I. in 1500. The Emperor forbad the Grand Master the oath of fealty, and hostile feelings at once arose between the Order and Poland. In 1511 the Knights elected Margrave Albert of Brandenburg-Culmbach their Grand Master, hoping his powerful family connections would enable him to restore the independence of the Order. But Albrecht was not the man for such a task. In order to obtain the money necessary for a war against King Sigmund of Poland, to whom he had refused the oath of allegiance, he granted, on his own responsibility and in return for a ton of gold, the independent dominion of Livonia and Courland to the Brothers of the Sword, and, on the promise of aid in the war, he renounced his right to redeem the Neumark, which had been pledged to Brandenburg. The war broke out in 1519. The Order fared badly, and in 1521, the Emperor intervening, an armistice of four years was concluded, after which Archduke Ferdinand, Louis King of Hungary, and Duke George of Saxony were to settle finally, with the consent of the King of Poland, the dispute about the

Grand Master's duty in the matter of the oath of allegiance. In 1523 Albert went to Germany to obtain the assistance of the Empire for his Order, and, at the Diet of Nuremberg, he gave the imperial government this princely assurance: to be faithful and devoted to the Emperor and the Empire.

Note X. p. 117.

Of six children five died at a tender age; only one princess survived (Tschackert, i. 148). His first daughter by his second wife, Anna Maria of Brunswick, was born blind; then several miscarriages followed. Albert Frederic, the only son who outlived his father, spent his life in deep melancholy. At times he was seized by violent fits and would throw a silver jug at the head of those who sat at table with him; at other times he was so depressed that it was feared he would take his own life (Hase, 79, 137, &c.)

Note XII. p. 137.

Other valuable works of art confiscated by the Council: 1. A chalice of Duke Berthold of Zahringen, of the horn of a unicorn with four jewels; inside the Duke's arms of silver; valued at 150 crowns. 2. Two silver angels in the chancel, partly gilt. 3. Three arms of silver (reliquaries). 4. Twenty-five great silver candlesticks, weighing 171 pounds, made in 1471: they were three ells high. 5. A silver prior's bowl; value of the silver about 500 florins. 6. A silver cross, 5 pounds in weight. 7. A silver coffin or casket, gilt, weighing 9 pounds. 8. Eighty corporals, all industriously wrought in gold, silver, and velvet, &c. 9. Six silver vessels, gilt. 10. Eighty Mass cruets of silver, and gilded. 11. A silver vessel for use at baptisms. 12. Silver oil-stocks, all of good silver and good size. 13. Four cantor's books of large parchment, valued at 3,000 crowns. 14. A Missal, the gift of the Duke of Zähringen, of parchment and with all the letters in gold: impossible to estimate its value. 15. Seventy Missals. 16. An organ in the chancel; cost 2,000 pounds. 17. Another organ in the Lady chapel, value about 1,200 florins: the tin was stolen,

the rest burnt. 18. A Gospel book with silver clasps and golden ornaments. In sign of mockery the huge statue of St. Christopher was placed over the principal entrance of the church: a sword was hung at its side and a halberd put in its hands, that it might prevent further thefts from a place where the thieves had well done their work. (Simler, i. pp. 48–52.)

NOTE XIII. p. 140.

In December 1529 Amerbach wrote: 'The whole of the old worship has been abolished here; the Mass is gone and hearing Mass in other localities is made penal. The images have been removed from the churches and burnt. The monks have been ordered and even forced to lay aside their religious habits; the altars have been destroyed. In short, 100,000 florins would not make good the damage done here in Basle in the present year by the infuriated populace. Our preachers restrict the whole essence of worship to preaching alone: the Eucharist, they say, is a sign of the body of Christ, not the body itself; but on this point our theologians and the Lutherans wage a bitter controversy. Confession has been entirely abolished; the ceremonies of baptism have been changed, inasmuch as they do not use the holy chrism but simply sprinkle the child with a few drops of water, accompanying the act with a few short prayers.' Further he mentions the removal of all Catholic councillors, the abolition of ecclesiastical immunities, the filling up of offices in the Church without regard to personal or enforceable rights, lastly the secularisation of the monasteries. 'O times! O manners! We confuse spiritual and temporal things; no one cares for traditional rights—nay, some do not know the meaning of sacrilegious theft. The case for the poor is spoken of as if alms were to be given not from one's own but from other people's property' (Burckhardt-Biedermann, pp. 67–68 and 230–232.)

NOTE XIV. p. 153.

See Cornelius, ii. 47; documents in Egli, 'Actensammlung,' No. 636, &c. On August 1, 1527, Bonifacius Amsbach

wrote to Montanus: 'The Anabaptists began by opposing infant baptism; then followed the doctrine of the division of property, of the unlawfulness of oaths, of the inadmissibility of civil authority, of the conversion of the devils, and similar stuff. Some pray no longer to Christ but only to God the Father; some boast of the gift of prophecy, despise baptism (Burckhardt-Biedermann, p. 37).

Note XV. p. 163.

See Schmidt, 'Justus Menius,' i. 149–167. An example of the cruelty practised in Saxony, even on harmless Anabaptists, is seen in the case of Fritz Erbe, of the bailiwick of Hausbreitenbach, in which both the Prince Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse exercised their jurisdiction. At his trial in 1584 Erbe declared that 'the first baptism is sufficient for those who come to the doctrine and to the word of God and who receive the word and acknowledge God; every one, however, is free to be rebaptised. His conscience had urged him to receive a second baptism. Further, he was unable to believe that Christ was really present, with His body and blood, in the Sacrament.' As he refused to recant, the Prince Elector demanded his death by the sword; the Landgrave, on the other hand, would have him banished or imprisoned. The unfortunate man was incarcerated first at Eisenach, then in the Wartburg. After ten years of imprisonment in a tower of the Wartburg the chief warder petitioned the Elector for milder treatment. 'Considering that Erbe is now disabled by disease and age, and that we know him to have been, until this ill-treatment, of good conduct and due submission, and to have decently maintained himself with wife and children as a farmer in the bailiwick of Hausbreitenbach, I humbly pray your Electoral Grace to transfer him, for about four weeks, from the prison to the monastery of the Discalced Carmelites, there to receive instruction and possibly the grace of conversion.' But the petition was unheeded. Fritz Erbe died in prison in the year 1548 (Schmidt, 'Justus Menius,' i. 168–177). Such tyranny in matters of faith was practised in a land which boasted of liberty of conscience.

Note XVI. p. 183.

Kopp, 'Hessische Gerichtsverfassung,' i. 107 of the supplement and p. 213. Schwarz (p. 81) considers Philip's extortions of money quite justified. 'Being convinced of the existence of an alliance against him, he had a right to be indemnified for the expenses incurred in preparing against it. (But Philip himself says that he was in error as to the alliance.) Philip was quite right, *from his point of view*, to exact an indemnity: his land and his subjects, grievously oppressed by his armaments, required indemnification.' But the bishops had in no sense forced those expensive armaments on Philip. Schwarz goes on to say that, however right Philip was in exacting money from the bishops, he acted inconsistently in exacting it from the bishops alone; only the grave consequences which might have followed on claims in other places prevented him from not acting up to his just convictions! A standpoint and a conviction will explain and justify anything!

Note XVII. p. 186.

'No sooner had peace been concluded,' says Planck (ii. 434), 'than Luther began a war on his own account, alleging this alliance as his justification.' The 'pen and paper' struggle between Luther and Duke George, so characteristic of the times, arose as follows: In a letter to Wenceslaus Link of Nuremberg, dated June 14, 1528, Luther had given expression to these sentiments: Although the 'godless princes' were now repudiating the Breslau alliance, he knew for certain that it was not a mere nothing or a chimera. Duke George of Saxony's frigid apology he regarded as equivalent to a confession. Of all the fools that ever lived George was the stupidest. Like Moab he was for ever attempting things for which he was not able, and his arrogancy, as usual, was greater than his strength. 'We will pray against these assassins, and forgive their past misdeeds. But should they repeat their offences we will pray God and exhort the Princes to destroy them without pity; for the insatiable bloodsuckers will never rest until they see Germany swimming in

blood' (De Wette, iii. 340). Link gave this letter to the public, and Cochläus gave expression to his conviction 'that Luther had written and Link had published the incendiary letter in order, by means of the forged alliance, to irritate and incite the mob against the princes and the bishops.' Melanchthon wrote to Camerarius regarding Luther's letter: 'It is indeed a violent piece of writing; but I am not so angry with the writer (who is what he is, and is always reckless of human standards of decency, being impelled by a certain providence or fate) as with the man who had the impudence to show about and make public a letter like that.' ('Corp. Reform.' i. 1004). Duke George, having received a copy of the letter, inquired of Luther if he was the author of it. As Luther, on October 31, returned an evasive answer and assumed the *rôle* of the injured party (De Wette, iii. 397), George denounced him to the Elector of Saxony. The Elector commanded Luther to explain himself, but obtained no other satisfaction than the declaration: 'He would stand by the answer already given to the Duke: if need were he could say a great deal more, but as things stood this was not advisable' (De Wette,' iii. 404). Contemporaneously Luther published a writing 'On the Two-fold Species of the Sacrament,' in which he alludes to certain 'treacherous assaults and leagues' against the Lutheran princes, of which their enemies themselves 'must be ashamed, after the occurrences at Mayence' ('Sammtl. Werke,' xxx. 378). George once more laid his complaint before the Elector and published a defence against Luther, in which the latter is branded as 'a desperate, disreputable, perjured scoundrel.' 'In this wretched scrawl of his,' says the Duke, 'he reviles me and others as assassins and insatiable bloodsuckers who would willingly see blood flow in these German lands. But, thank God, in this, as in his other bloodthirsty screeds, he has made a revelation, not of my character, but of his own, since he speaks of inciting the princes to deal with us without mercy. There is surely no trace of the peaceful Gospel of Christ in phrases like this, which breathe only blood and ruin. And since he feels himself too weak, thank God, to attain his purpose, he has recourse this time not to his usual hypocritical

prayers to God, but to certain princes whom he hopes to bring against us. Who these princes may be, through whom he expects to succeed, he himself knows best. We trust that they will get to know him at length and to discover his mendacity. His threats shall not deter us from our determination to have nothing to do with his faction; and we have too much confidence in each and every one of our princes to apprehend that any of them should permit an infamous liar to seduce them into illegal deeds.* For our part, with the help of God we will give no man cause of offence, but will so conduct ourself that we shall be pronounced irreproachable before any responsible tribunal' (Hortleder, 'Ursachen,' pp. 806 *sq.*). There followed, as a reply, Luther's writing entitled 'On Secret and Stolen Letters, together with a Psalm, expounded against Duke George of Saxony.' Even now he did not acknowledge the authorship of the obnoxious letter; and he surpassed himself in passionate vituperation of George. 'Suppose I should make a public announcement through the press,' he says, 'that I held Duke George for a fool, and that, notwithstanding the protestations of my enemy, I did not regard him as guiltless in the affair of the revolutionary alliance, what would this avail him?' He numbered the Duke among those 'who not only had raved against God's word and law, but who moreover had acted in contravention to the commands of the secular power and of conscience, like disobedient and riotous murderers.' 'Who will blame me, then, for thinking, writing, and speaking of Duke George as my most venomous, most inveterate, and most arrogant foe?' &c. ('Sammtl. Werke,' xxxi. 1–30). In the judgment of Schomburgk (p. 211) 'Luther wrote with the supremest contempt for facts, with the most arbitrary exposition of details.' Finally, on January 18, 1529, the Elector made known his will to Luther to the following effect: 'In future he shall commit nothing to print against Duke George without previously sending the same to us and obtaining our *imprimatur*. In all other matters involving "Christian doctrine" he shall be guided by the rule of the Elector Frederick, viz. "to send nothing to the press which has not been examined by the Rector and other members of our University"' (Burkhardt, 'Luther's Briefwechsel,' p. 155).

Note XVIII. p. 252.

The Confession, at first called Apology, was composed, by order of the Elector of Saxony, by Melanchthon, who made use of several preparatory sketches (Engelhardt in 'Niedners Zeitschrift für historische Theologie,' 1865, pp. 515–629). Melanchthon greatly disliked his task. 'Other theologians,' he wrote to his brother, 'desired to set up the Confession. Would to God their wish had been gratified! Perhaps they would have done better. Now they are displeased with my work and want it changed. Here one, there another, is crying out. But I must be faithful to my manner, which is to avoid whatever may cause still greater bitterness' (Niemeyer, 'Melanchthon im Jahre der Augsburger Confession,' p. 22). Later on he wrote a contrary statement—that he had been obliged to set up the first Confession at Augsburg in 1530 because *no one was willing to write a single letter*, and yet the Emperor insisted upon having a Confession ('Corp. Reform.' ix. 980). On May 11 the Elector sent Melanchthon's work for examination to Luther, who, on May 15, gave it his approbation. Some letters from persons interested, written between the first composition and the public production of the Confession, merit to be quoted. On May 22 Melanchthon wrote to Luther: 'In Apologia quotidie multo mutamus.' 'Vellem percurrisses articulos fidei, in quibus si nihil putaveris esse vitii, reliqua utcunque tractabimus. Subinde enim mutandi sunt atque ad occasiones accommodandi.' On May 24 the Nuremberg ambassadors reported: 'The Saxon memorandum has come back from Dr. Luther. But Dr. Pruck' (the Saxon Chancellor) 'is busy modifying it in all directions.' The same, on May 28, say the Chancellor has informed them that 'the Elector's councillors and theologians hold daily meetings in which they change and improve the draft of the Confession.' On June 3 they forwarded a copy with the remark: 'At the end one or two articles and the conclusion are wanting: the Saxon theologians are still at work on them. . .' On June 8, 19, and 21, deliberations are still going on among princes and theologians as to the final redaction of the document. On June 25, when the Confession

was laid before the Diet, Melanchthon wrote to Luther: 'Hodie primum exhibebuntur nostrae Confessionis articuli. . . . Brentius assidebat haec scribenti, una lacrymans;' and to another friend: 'Hic consumitur mihi omne tempus in lacrymis et luctu.' The same day the Nuremberg delegates report as follows: 'To-day the "Instruction" will be laid before the Emperor. Said 'Instruction,' as far as the articles of faith are concerned, is in substance identical with the copy we sent you; only in some points it has been improved and made as smooth as possible without, however, omitting anything essential.' Next day, June 26, 1530, Melanchthon wrote to Camerarius: 'The Confession was read out yesterday. Ego mutabam et refingebam pleraque quotidie, plura etiam mutaturus si nostri *συμφράδμονες* permisissent, ac tantum abest ut lenius justo scriptum fuisse judicem, ut verear etiam mirum in modum ne qui sint offensi libertate nostra;' the same day to Luther: 'Versamur hic in miserrimis curis et plane perpetuis lacrymis. Ad has hodie mira consternatio animorum nostrorum accessit, lectis Viti literis, in quibus significat, te ita nobis irasci ut nostras literas ne legere quidem velis.' 'Cæsari exhibita est defensio nostra quam tibi mitto legendam. Satis est meo judicio vehemens. Nam monachos sic satis despexos videbis. ('Corp. Ref.' ii. 57, &c.) H. Virck's opinion on the Augsburg Confession: 'No impartial mind can resist the conviction that this Confession is much more than a true expression of evangelical faith and feeling; it is a document of enormous political significance, emanating from an entirely political assembly and aiming at well-defined political objects' (Brieger's 'Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte,' ix. 89). 'Luther, Melanchthon, and their evangelical contemporaries did by no means regard the Confession as a binding contract: each new edition bore witness to active organic progress,' says Droysen (2^b, 382).

INDEX OF PLACES

Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle), 323, 470, 480
Aalborg (capture of, 1534), 484
Aar, the river, 137
Aargau, the, 168
Acqui (bishopric), 526
Ahorn, 98
Aix, 445
Alen, 457
Alexandria, 440
Algier, 438, 441
Alpirsbach, 423
Alsace, 173, 227
Amalfi, 196
Amberg (town), 38
Amsterdam, 459, 471, 480; Council-house, 480
Anhalt (principalities), 34, 58, 210, 252, 333, 490, 494
Ansbach-Baireuth (principality), 36, 163
Antwerp, 32 (*n.* 1), 471
Apulia, 196, 446
Archipelago, the, 446
Arolsen (monastery), 82
Artois, 6, 446
Asti, 235, 440, 446
Auerbach, 39
Augsburg (bishopric), 56, 306, 502
Augsburg (town), 72, 147, 158 ff., 168, 221, 302, 335, 355, 405, 422, 449, 490, 494, 502, 532, 536 f., 539
Augsburg (Diet, 1525), 3, 41 ff., 45, 48, 51, 57; (1530) 184, 240, 247, 248–325, 326, 329 f., 338, 346, 350, 386, 389, 475, 506
Augsburg (Swabian Congress, 1533), 403–409
Augsburg (Confession), 252–258, 264 ff., 294, 297, 301, 384, 488, 489 (*n.* 1), 507, 514, 530, 535, 537, 542
Augsburg (Confutation), 258 ff., 296
Austria, imperial; Austrian hereditary dominions, 3, 5, 6, 13, 15, 16, 26, 157, 161, 171, 322, 330, 348, 370, 375–378, 390, 398, 404, 408, 415 ff., 418, 429–434, 439
Aversa (battle of, 1528), 196

Baden (Margraviates), 66, 201, 216
Baden in Switzerland (Diet, 1531), 356, (1546) 356
Baireuth (principality), 36
Bamberg (bishopric), 37, 56, 168, 183, 208
Barcelona (peace of, 1529), 235, 302
Bar-le-Duc (treaty of, 1534), 407, 429
Basle (bishopric), 138, 221
Basle (town), 100, 207, 221, 242, 245 ff., 327, 333, 359, 541
Basle (Council, 1431–1449), 281
Basle (Diet, 1530), 247, (1531) 328
Bavaria, 18–24, 39, 161, 169 f., 225, 237, 305, 311, 350, 365, 367–374, 376 ff., 383, 387, 392, 394, 396–402, 405 f., 410, 418, 429–432, 438, 442, 520
Beckum, 457
Belgrade, 12, 381
Berg (duchy). *See* Jülich-Cleves-Berg
Bern, 135 ff., 142, 207, 222 f., 226, 242, 245 f., 333, 361, 541
Beuel, 470
Biberach, 226, 300, 334 f., 339, 340, 405, 494
Biel, 207, 541
Blamond (lordship), 407
Blaubeuren, 160

Bohemia, 2, 18f., 21, 167, 185, 228, 237, 281, 369, 374, 378, 391, 399, 530
Bologna (town), 240, 303, 319, 513
Bologna (League of, 1533), 512
Borna (district), 88
Bornholm, 484
Boudevilliers, 137
Brabant, 471
Brandenburg (electorate), 2, 19, 24, 48, 53, 55, 169, 171, 176, 181, 185, 206, 248, 272, 296, 304, 309 ff., 447 (*n.* 2)
Brandenburg-Culmbach (described as Franconian territory), 35–41, 75 f., 106 (*n.* 9 in App.), 110, 113 f., 230, 245, 249, 252, 269, 282, 296, 345, 494
Braunsberg in Ermeland, 120
Breda (amnesty, 1525), 5 (*n.* 2)
Breisgau, the, 173
Bremen (archbishopric), 55, 484 (*n.* 1)
Bremen (town), 334, 472, 477, 481, 494
Breslau (town), 72
Breslau (fictitious treaty of, 1527), 169, 177, 181, 186
Brunswick (town), 120 f., 472, 494
Brunswick-Grubenhagen, 57, 334, 494
Brunswick-Lüneburg, 34, 55, 57, 104, 171, 210, 219, 245, 252, 270, 294, 333 f., 345, 349, 474 f., 494, 526, 544 (*n.* 2)
Brunswick - Wolfenbüttel, 48, 55, 81, 216, 246, 311, 326, 347, 484
Brussels, 350
Buda. *See* Ofen
Burgundy (duchy), 4, 6, 189, 195, 407

Cadan in Bohemia (treaty of, 1534), 418–421 429, 431 f., 437, 489 (*n.* 1)
Calocsa (archbishopric), 15
Calw, 425 (*n.* 1)
Cambray (peace of, 1529), 235, 243, 439, 443
Capo d'Istria (bishopric), 517
Cappel (peace of, 1529), 224 f., 362
Cappel (battle of), 358 f., 361
Carinthia, 22, 370
Carniola (Krain), 13, 22, 212
Cassel (town), 167, 414, 536
Castro, 446
Chalons, 522 (*n.* 1)
Chur, 21
Clerval (lordship), 407
Cleves (duchy), 53, 311, 471
Clissa, 446
Coburg (town), 96 (*n.* 2)
Cölpin, 99
Coesfeld, 459, 470
Cologne (archbishopric), 24, 53, 55, 173, 305, 453, 470
Cologne (town), 199, 211, 323, 470
Cognac (League of, 1526), 9, 10, 24, 188
Colmar, 95, 227, 289
Commerstadt, 262
Constance (bishopric), 56, 129, 207, 223, 342
Constance (lake), 226
Constance (town), 146, 206 f., 217, 226 f., 243, 247, 301, 327, 334 ff., 404, 494, 538
Constantinople, 15 f., 174, 211, 234, 238, 367, 436, 438, 441
Copenhagen, 476, 477, 485
Corfu, 446
Coron, 391
Corvey (imperial abbey), 452
Courland, 106 (*n.* 9 in App.)
Croatia, 12, 212

Danube (river), Danube-lands, 12, 212, 372
Dardanelles (of Morea), 391
Daugendorf, 416
Denmark, 116, 171, 175, 245, 350, 365, 372, 375, 396, 436, 450, 474, 476, 485
Dessau (alliance concluded at, 1525), 49
Deventer, 479
Dresden, 169
Dubro, 99
Düben, 99

East Friesland, 104 f.
East Prussia, 106
Eichstätt (bishopric), 56, 276
Einbeck, 494

Einsiedeln (Waldstatt), 130 (additional note by Pastor)
Einsiedeln (Diet, 1527), 168
Eisenach (town), 232, 402
Elnbogen, 476
England, 4, 7, 9, 17, 172, 180, 190, 195, 333, 345, 359, 372, 375, 400, 406 (*n.* 1), 409 f., 436, 470, 475, 523 (*n.* 1)
Enns (the river), 378
Entringen, 425
Erfurt, 221
Eschenbruch-on-the-Maas, 480
Essek, 446
Essen, 470
Esslingen (town), 146, 158 (*n.* 1), 336, 341 f., 405, 424, 494, 539
Esslingen (a congress of princes planned at), 39
Etschland, 157
Europe, 4, 12, 367, 440

Ferrara (duchy), 8
Flanders (county), 6, 189, 446
Florence (archduchy), 9, 189 (*n.* 2)
Forchheim (assembly and *Rathschlag*, 1525), 37, 38
France, 2, 4–8, 10, 13 (*n.* 3), 21, 24 ff., 133, 167, 171 ff., 178, 183, 186, 189, 195, 203–206, 225, 233, 235, 243 f., 247, 259, 320, 327, 333, 345–347, 354, 359, 372, 374 ff., 383, 387 f., 399–404, 407–412, 419, 429–448, 470, 475, 515, 521–526
Franconia, 35, 36, 37, 159, 166, 176
Frankenhausen (battle of, 1525), 49
Frankfort-on-the-Main, 57, 72, 122, 168, 178, 201, 302, 321, 326, 379, 386, 490, 494, 539
Frankfort-on-the-Main (assembly of the Smalcand League, June 1531), 349, (December 1531) 364, (1536) 490, 493
Free bailiwicks, the, 224
Freiburg in Switzerland (canton), 135
Freiburg in Switzerland (town), 223
Freising (bishopric), 56, 65
Friaul (Friuli), 13
Friedewald (hunting-castle), 42
Friesland, 245, 458, 460, 480
Fünen, 484
Fünfkirchen, 402
'Fünf Orte' (five places; Catholic cantons. *See* Switzerland)
Fürstenwalde, 134

Gaëta, 196
Gelnhausen, 178, 183
Genoa, 195, 235, 238, 402, 440, 512 (*n.* 1)
Germany, Holy Roman Empire of the German nation, 1–3, 12, 16 f., 22–26, 27–48, 53–55, 59, 106 (*n.* 9 in App.), 111 (*n.* 1), 151, 157, 165, 167, 177–180, 191, 197, 204 f., 209, 212, 219, 222 (*n.* 1), 225, 228, 233, 234, 237 f., 240, 243 f., 247, 248–287, 291–297, 303, 326, 329 f., 346, 359, 364, 367 f., 371 f., 375, 377, 379, 386, 388 (*n.* 1), 389, 392, 394, 396, 401, 403, 407–412, 417, 429 f., 435, 439, 447, 449, 485, 487, 511, 512, 514 ff., 518–522, 526 f.
Germany (*Reichshofgericht*), 489 (*n.* 1)
Germany (*Kammergericht* — Imperial chamber or court), 73, 154, 177, 200, 282 (*n.* 2), 314, 326, 333, 367, 389, 414, 488 f., 490 f., 495, 500
Germany (*Reichsregiment*, Imperial Government), 73, 106 (*n.* 9 in App.), 167, 177, 207, 211, 219, 322, 326

Haarlem, 458
Halberstadt (bishopric), 176
Hall. *See* Schwäbisch-Hall
Halle, 54 (*n.* 5 in App.)
Hamburg (town), 121, 474, 477, 481, 490, 494
Hamburg (religious convention, 1535), 481
Hamm, 470
Hanover (town), 481, 490, 494
Hanseatic towns, 484
Harvestehude (Cistercian convent), 121
Hegau, 227
Hegensberg, 159
Heidelberg, 73 (*n.* 2)

Heidenheim, 406
Heilbronn, 75, 122, 217, 301, 343, 494
Hertenalb (monastery), 423
Herrenbreitungen, on the Werra, 178
Hersfeld, 153
Hesdin, 446
Hesse, 24, 34, 36, 41 f., 49, 50, 53, 57, 66, 72 f., 79–86, 92, 95, 128, 157, 164 f., 166–185, 204, 208, 215, 219, 221, 225, 227–233, 241–247, 250, 252, 259, 261, 271, 294, 310, 325 ff., 329 f., 333 f., 345, 347–350, 364 f., 371, 382, 384, 388, 396 f., 400–421, 424, 429–433, 437 f., 468, 476, 484, 486, 488, 494, 519, 521, 526
Höchst-on-the-Main, 491
Hof, 283 (*n.* 1)
Hohenasperg, 348
Hohenberg (lordship), 422
Hohentwiel, near Hilzingen, 167, 348
Holland, 458, 471, 480, 483
Holstein, 410, 450, 476 f., 481, 484, 544 (*n.* 2)
Holy Lime-tree, 114
Holzdorf, 99
Homberg (Synod, 1526), 79 f., 82, 85 (*n.* 1)
Höxter, 456; (St. Peter's Church), 456
Hungary, 12–18, 25, 70, 106 (*n.* 9 in App.), 170, 174, 205, 211 f., 235, 237, 365, 366–369, 377 f., 387, 390 ff., 394, 397, 403, 418, 430 f., 438, 446

Iburg, 455
Ionian Sea, 391
Isny, 217, 226, 334, 341, 344, 405, 494, 539
Italy, 1, 3 f., 7–12, 21 f., 195 f., 205, 235, 238, 267, 390, 396, 399, 430, 439–446, 512 f., 520

Jena, 100
Jülich (duchy), 480
Jülich-Cleves-Berg, 55, 311
Jutland, 477, 484

Kahlenburg, the, 235
Kaschau (battle, 1528), 174
Kaufungen (monastery), 81
Kempten (town), 217, 226, 301, 355, 490, 494, 539
Kirchenstaat (ecclesiastical dominions), 194
Kitzinger, 36
Königsberg in Prussia (town), 116, 117
Königsberg (*Huldigungs-tag*, 1525), 113
Königshofen (battle, 1525), 36
Königswinter, 470
Kraichgau, 159
Krakau, 18
Kufstein, 410
Kurbrandenburg, Kurcöln, Kurmainz, Kurpfalz, Kursachsen, Kurtrier; *see* Brandenburg, Cologne, Mayence, Pfalz, Saxony, Treves

Laufen-on-the-Neckar (battle, 1534), 415
Lausitz, 185
Lebus (bishopric), 184
Leiden, 479
Leipheim, 160
Leipzig (convention of princes, 1526), 51
Liegnitz-Brieg (duchy), 105, 107, 494
Limburg (county), 480
Lindau, 206, 217, 226, 301, 334 f., 341, 405, 494, 539
Linz-on-the-Danube (treaty of, 1534), 431
Livonia, 106 (*n.* 9 in App.), 450
Lombardy, 195, 238, 408
London, 195 (*n.* 1)
Lorraine, 223, 372, 407, 411
Lower Germany, 526
Lower Austria, 399
Lower Rhine, 470
Lucca, 512 (*n.* 1)
Lucka, 99
Lübeck (bishopric), 473, 476
Lübeck (town), 334 (*n.* 1), 473–478, 481, 484, 494
Lübeck (Diet, 1531), 372
Lucerne (delegates), 135, 141
Lucerne (town), 133
Lucerne (Diet, 1529), 208, 222
Lüneburg (town), 472, 481
Lyons, 446

MÂCON (bishopric), 444 (*n.* 1)
Madrid (town), 4, 6
Madrid (peace of, 1526), 6, 10, 54, 167, 235, 439
Maestricht (lordship), 381
Maestricht (town), 470, 480
Magdeburg (archbishopric), 175
Magdeburg (town), 57, 333, 345, 494
Magdeburg (congress of princes at, 1526), 57
Main, 122
Malchin, 104
Mantua (duchy), 513, 529
Mantua (town), 513, 526, 529
Marburg (town), 81, 83, 84, 352
Marburg (university), 81, 83, 417 (*n.* 1)
Marburg (religious convention, 1529), 229–233
Marienwerden, 116
Mark (county), 470
Marseilles, 445
Mayence (archbishopric), 24, 122, 168 f., 173, 176 f., 183, 204, 208, 248, 254, 305, 310, 323, 351 f., 382, 405, 420 (*n.* 1)
Mayence (town), 199, 491
Mayence (meeting of the chapter, 1526), 51 f., 186 (*n.* 17 in App.)
Mecklenburg, 34, 42, 54, 104, 171, 245, 494
Medikon, 155
Meissen (margraviate), 98
Memmingen (town), 147 f., 201, 217, 226, 301, 334 f., 341, 347 (*n.* 1), 405, 435, 494, 539
Memmingen (synod at, 1531), 335
Metz (town and bishopric), 199, 325 (*n.* 1)
Minden (bishopric), 55
Minden (town), 494
Mohacs (battle of, 1526), 14, 16, 234
Moldavia (principality), 175, 211, 435, 445
Montbéliard (county), 407
Montbéliard (town), 167
Montferrat (Margraviate), 440
Moravia, 157, 159, 369, 378, 391, 434
Morocco, 193
Mörs, 470
Muckrehna, 99
Mühlhausen in Thuringia, 221
Mühlhausen in Alsace, 207, 541
Munich, 20, 238, 376, 399, 411, 519
Munich-Gladbach, 471 (referred to in *n.* 1)
Münster (bishopric), 55, 452 ff., 456, 460 f., 468, 469, 478, 482
Münster (town), 410, 452–472, 477 f., 480: (cathedral), 460, 465; (market-place), 465; (St. Lambert's Church), 483; (Church of St. Mauritz, 453, 460
Musel, 98

NANCY, 172
Naples (kingdom), 8, 10, 21, 190, 193, 195, 435, 437 (*n.* 1), 441, 445
Naples (town), 196 (*n.* 1)
Nassau, 182, 350
Nassau-Dillenburg, 319, 445
Nassau-Saarbrücken, 494
Naumburg-Zeitz (bishopric), 87
Neckar, the, 417
Neiden, 99
Netherlands, the, 5, 8 (*n.* 1), 399, 445 f., 452, 459, 471, 479, 526
Neuburg. *See* Pfalz-Neuburg
Neuenburg (Neuchatel), 137
Neumark, the, 106 (*n.* 9 in App.)
Niederlausitz, 176
Nördlingen, 217
Nordhausen, 221, 494
Normandy, 521 (*n.* 3)
Northern Germany, 472, 475, 481, 526
Northern Europe, 474
North-east Germany, 176
Nuremberg (town), 37, 57, 72, 124, 126, 168, 171, 175, 180, 184, 186 (*n.* 17 in App.), 201, 206, 208, 217, 219, 221, 252, 267 (*n.* 2), 294, 301 f., 329, 334 (*n.* 2), 345, 383, 406 (*n.* 1), 433, 495, 527
Nuremberg (Diet, 1522–1523), 61 ff., 276, 385, 527
Nuremberg (*Bundestag*), (1531) 373 (*n.* 1), (1533) 400
Nuremberg (Religious Peace, 1532), 385, 389, 396, 418, 424, 488, 490 f., 493, 498

OBERESSLINGEN, 342
Oberyssel, 471
Ofen (Buda), 14 f., 162, 211, 235, 381, 398, 434

Oldenkloster, 480
Ornebirg, near Assens (battle of, 1535), 351
Orteneu, the, 176
Osma (bishopric), 360
Osnabrück (bishopric), 453
Osnabrück (town), 470

Paderborn (prince-bishopric), 453
Palatinate, the (Pfalz; electorate), 3, 23, 38 f., 53, 57, 66, 73 (*n.* 2), 166, 173, 178, 182, 202, 294, 305, 311, 351, 375, 382, 404, 413, 447 (*n.* 2), 485, 534
Paris, 4, 25, 189 (*n.* 2), 376 (*n.* 2), 439 (*n.* 1)
Passavant (lordship), 407
Patras, 391
Pavia (battle of, 1525), 1, 2, 7, 13
Péronne, 446
Pesth, 15
Petershausen (monastery), 146
Peterwardein, 14
Pfalz-Neuburg, 375
Pfalz-Zweibrücken, 245, 494
Pfullingen (convent of the nuns of St. Clara), 423
Pfungstadt in the Odenwald, 415
Pfyrdt (lordship), 392
Piacenza (duchy), 7
Piacenza (town), 197, 238, 513
Picardy, 446
Piedmont, 442, 445
Plassenburg (fortress), 283 (*n.* 1)
Poland, 4, 16, 18 f., 106 (*n.* 9 in App.), 110, 112 f., 116, 171, 174 f., 367, 398
Pomerania (duchy), 42, 55, 171, 490, 494, 511, 526
Pomesania (bishopric), 107, 114, 116
Portugal, 6
Prague (town), 20, 185
Prague (assembly of Estates, 1526), 20
Pressburg (town), 235; (castle), 22
Pressburg (Diet, 1526), 17
Preuschmark, 116
Provence, 446
Prussia, 34, 38 (*n.* 1), 106, 111 (*n.* 1), 113–117, 171, 175, 281 (*n.* 2), 308 (*n.* 1), 375, 484

Raab, 15
Ratisbon (town), 71 (*n.* 1), 158, 393
Ratisbon (Diet, 1532), 372, 378, 274–389
Ravensburg, 223
Rebdorf (monastery), 276
Reggio (bishopric), 512
Reiden (church of St. John), 137 (*n.* 1)
Reutlingen, 159, 217, 252, 301, 334, 337, 494, 539
Rheinthal, the, 222
Rhine, Rhenish lands, 41, 85, 157, 173, 176, 201, 224, 399, 471
Rhode (island), 12
Rhode (town, St. John's church), 12
Riesenburg, 107
Rome, Roman Empire, 44
Rome (town, Holy See), 7 f., 24, 53, 55, 59, 69, 71, 111, 190–193, 305, 307, 322, 328, 392, 415 (*n.* 1), 443, 515 (*n.* 3), 516 (*n.* 3), 521, 527
Rome (sack of, 1527), 190
Rome (treaty), 7
Rostock, 472
Rotach (convention), 219
Rotenburg on the Fulda (town), 1,
Rottenburg on the Neckar, 158
Rotweil, 423

Saalfeld (treaty, 1531), 371
Salzburg (archbishopric), 56, 169 f. 242
Samland (bishopric), 107, 111, 113, 114
Saint Catharinenthal, near Diessenhofen (Dominican monastery), 142
St. Gall (abbey), 140, 141
St. Gall (territory of), 223
St. Gall (town), 140, 206 f., 217, 541; (Brühl), 141; (chapel of St. James), 141; (chapel of St. John), 141
St. Georgen near Villingen, 423
St. Goar, 81
Sardinia, 437 (*n.* 1)
Saros Patak (battle, 1529), 211
Savoy (duchy), 223, 246, 442 f., 445
Saxony (electorate), 19, 29, 34, 38, 42, 48, 53, 71, 73 (*n.* 2), 76, 86, 89–104, 163, 169, 173, 176, 181, 183 f., 186, 204, 206, 210, 219, 228, 231, 239, 241, 250 ff., 259, 273, 288 f., 294, 305, 329, 333, 345, 348 f., 350, 352, 354, 364, 369 (*n.* 2), 371, 374, 376, 380, 382, 386, 389, 396, 400 ff., 409, 410

(*n.* 1), 418, 421, 433, 453, 476, 487 f., 494, 512, 521, 526, 530, 533, 537, 540
Saxony (Albertine division), 19, 44, 48 f., 67, 76, 106 (*n.* 9 in App.), 118, 169, 172, 178, 182, 184, 186, 206, 277, 288, 304, 307, 309, 311, 322, 376, 409, 412 f., 421, 487, 515 (*n.* 2)
Schaffhausen, 541
Scheyern (treaty of alliance, 1532), 376
Schlettstadt, 227
Schönau in Saxony, 99
Schöppingen, 459
Schongau, 259
Schoonen, 477
Schwäbisch-Hall, 221
Schwyz (canton), 135
Scotland, 436
Seitenrode, 98
Seville, 56 (*n.* 1)
Sicily, 193, 212, 435, 445, 437 (*n.* 1), 441, 445
Siegen (county), 452
Siena, 512 (*n.* 1)
Silesia, 104, 283 (*n.* 1), 369, 378, 434, 450
Sitten, 136
Slavonia, 445, 446
Smalcald (Diet, 1530), 333
Smalcald (League), 334, 345 ff., 352, 364, 367, 371, 405, 474, 484 f., 486–502, 512, 525 f., 539
Smalcald (Congress, 1531), 333, 349, (1535) 487 f., 524 (*n.* 1), 530
Smalcald (articles of), 530, 542 (*n.* 1)
Söflingen, 338
Soest, 494
Solothurn (canton), 135
Solothurn (town), 223
Sonnenwalde (castle), 185
Sound, the, 485
South Germany, 122, 424, 447, 526, 537
South-west Germany, 403
Spain, 4, 13, 51, 54, 190 f., 193 f., 247, 328, 377, 390, 392, 399, 437 (n. 1), 441
Spires (bishopric), 57
Spires (town), 124 (*n.* 1), 229
Spires (Diet, 1526), 43, 55, 58, 59–78, 79, 166, 182, 198 f., 209, 215 f.; (1529) 186, 187, 197–205, 208 ff., 212–220, 234–236, 325 (*n.* 1), 453
Spires (meeting of town delegates, 1525), 41
Staufen (castle), 348
Stralsund, 119, 481; (convents of St. Bridget and St. Catherine), 119; (church of St. Nicholas), 119
Strasburg (bishopric), 51, 56, 65, 221
Strasburg (town), 72, 143–146, 153, 168, 171, 202, 204, 206, 208, 217, 219, 221, 227, 243, 245 f., 272, 301, 327, 336, 345, 349, 414, 449–452, 494, 536
Stuhlweissenburg (town), 174
Stuhlweissenburg (Diet, 1526), 15
Stuttgart, 171, 425 (*n.* 1); (the market-place), 160, 425
Styria, 13, 390
Suabia, 3, 147, 148, 159, 201, 226, 322, 328, 335, 342, 355, 364, 412, 450, 534
Suabian League, 36, 160, 166, 171, 176 f., 181, 185, 207, 219, 403 ff., 406 (*n.* 1), 408, 413
Süptitz, 99
Sweden, 450, 481, 484
Switzerland, 127, 143, 151 f., 166, 206, 222–227, 243, 245, 259, 289, 329, 334 f., 347, 354, 355–364, 372, 425, 436, 449, 535, 540
Switzerland (Fünf Orte, Catholic cantons), 207, 221–227, 355–365

Tartary, 175, 381
Tavannes, 137
Tecklenburg (county), 452
Telgte (Provincial Diet, 1532), 455
Tenneberg, 88
Thorn (peace, 1466), 455
Thurgau, 222
Thuringia, 100
Toggenburg, 224
Toledo, 3 (*n.* 2), 54
Transylvania (Siebenbürgen), 14, 23, 398
Trent (bishopric), 43
Treves (archbishopric), 2, 24, 53, 173, 177, 311
Tübingen (university), 426 (*n.* 1)
Tübingen (bailiwick), 425 (*n.* 1)
Tunis, 438, 440, 441
Turin, 442

Turkey, 4, 12–15, 22, 71, 73, 160, 174, 188, 203, 205, 211, 233, 234–237, 250, 285, 304, 319, 348, 365, 367–370, 376 ff., 379–383, 387, 396 ff., 403, 410, 415, 433 ff., 438–446, 475, 487, 517, 527
Tyrol, 161, 242, 392, 399, 411, 416

Ueberlingen, 223
Ulm (town), 72, 147, 157 (*n.* 5), 168, 175, 205 f., 208, 217, 219, 221, 226, 260, 299, 302, 328, 334–340, 345, 355, 404, 422, 494, 538
Ulm (meeting of the Suabian League, 1528), 171
Ulm (Municipal Diet), 41
Upper Austria, 399
Upper Suabia, 159
Upper Würtemberg, 421
Untersee (Lower Sea), 227
Untertriebel, 99
Unterwalden, 135
Uri, 222
Usingen, 258
Utrecht (principality and bishopric), 381

Valais, 223, 360
Venice, 5, 9, 13, 133, 175, 190, 196, 205, 233, 237, 242, 308, 323 (*n.* 1), 372, 402, 419, 446, 515 (*n.* 3), 521, 523
Vienna (bishopric), 527 (*n.* 1)
Vienna (town), 15, 125, 162, 212, 378, 380, 390, 435, 526
Vienna (siege of, 1529), 235, 244
Voigtland, the, 98

Waldeck (county), 454
Wallachia, 175, 211, 378
Wangen, 223
Warendorf, 457, 459, 464, 470, 478
Warsum (monastery), 480
Wartburg, the, 163 (*n.* 15 in App.)
Warthausen, 341 (*n.* 2)
Waterland, 480
Weimar (town), 87, 169, 175 f., 410 (*n.* 1), 512
Weimar (treaty of, 1528), 170, 177
Weissenburg in the Nordgau (on the Sand), 217, 301, 494
Weissenstein, near Cassel (Augustinian nunnery), 82, 453
Wendish Towns, the, 475
Wercho, 99
Wesel, 470
Westphalia, 452, 471 f.
Westfriesland, 471
Wetter (monastery), 82
Wiblingen, 338
Wienerwald, 390
Windsheim, 217, 301, 494
Wismar, 121, 481
Wittenberg (circle), 98, 101
Wittenberg (town), 100, 106, 120, 148, 151, 168, 192, 230 (*n.* 1), 241 (*n.* 2), 284, 437 (*n.* 3), 524, 536
Wittenberg (university and school of theologians), 111, 230 (*n.* 1), 280, 544
Wittenberg (Concord, 1536), 538, 542
Wittgenstein (county), 452
Wolfenbüttel (town), 484 (*n.* 1)
Worms (bishopric), 56
Worms (town), 160
Worms (Diet, 1521), 54, 64, 239, 276, 308, 393; (1535) 481
Worms (edict), 65, 70, 75–78, 214, 216, 257, 313
Worms (religious conference, 1536), 423
Würtemberg, 2, 6, 73, 165, 166 f., 171, 225, 242 f., 245, 311, 322, 326, 347 f., 354, 369, 372, 375, 381, 399, 402–408, 409–428, 431, 435–438, 447, 476, 486, 490, 494 521, 526
Würzburg (bishopric), 36 f., 56, 65, 75, 168 f., 178, 183, 208, 405
Würzburg (town), 36
Wyl (Diet, 1529), 141

Zeitz (bishopric). *See* Naumburg
Zierads, 174
Zinna, 98
Zips (county), 14
Zofingen, 137 (*n.* 1)
Zürich (town and canton), 129–135, 142, 155, 159, 166, 207 f., 223 f., 226, 232, 242 f., 245–247, 327 ff., 333, 354, 356, 358–362, 541
Zürich (synods, 1529 and 1532), 362 (*n.* 1), 362 f.
Zug, 135
Zweibrücken. *See* Pfalz-Zweibrücken
Zwickau, 87

INDEX OF PERSONS

Absberg, Thomas v., 35
Acciajuoli, Rob. (ambassador), 10 (*n.* 2), 189 (*n.* 2)
Adam, Hans, 155 (*n.* 2)
Aderpul, Thom. (preacher), 10 (*n.* 2), 189 (*n.* 2)
Adrian VI. (Pope), 110, 111, 527
Agricola, John (Court and cathedral preacher; afterwards Superintendent-General), 494, 542 (*n.* 1)
Albert of Brandenburg (Imperial High Chancellor; Archbishop of Mayence), 24, 51, 58, 122, 168 f., 177, 183, 204, 208, 248, 254, 305, 310, 323 (*n.* 1), 351, 382, 405
Albert (Margrave of Brandenburg; Grand Master, later Duke of Prussia), 34, 58, 72, 106, 110, 112–117, 171, 175, 280 (*n.* 2), 308 (*n.* 1), 375, 484
Albert V. (Prince, later Duke of Bavaria), 432
Albert Frederic (Margrave of Brandenburg, Duke of Prussia), 116
Aleander, Jerome (legate), 307 ff., 383 (*n.* 2), 389 (*n.* 1), 390 (*n.* 1), 392 ff., 530
Algersheimer (preacher), 122
Allen, Charles Ferdinand (historical investigator), 485 (*n.* 1)
Amerbach, Boniface (humanist), 153 (*n.* 14 in App.), 516 (*n.* 3)
Amsdorf, Nic. (Lutheran Bishop of Naumburg), 268 (*n.* 1), 494, 542 (*n.* 1)
Anabaptists, the 114 (*n.* 2), 150 ff., 153 (*n.* 14 in App.), 154–165, 200, 315, 336, 351, 411, 418, 448, 449–485
Andreä, Jac. (Provost and Chancellor), 426 f.
Anna of Hungary (wife of Ferdinand I.), 17, 19, 23
Anna of Mecklenburg (mother of Philip of Hesse), 80
Anna Maria of Brunswick (Duchess), 117 (*n.* 10 in App.)
Anton (the 'Good,' Duke of Lorraine), 223, 411
Arnoldi, Bartholomew (von Usingen), 258
Augustine, St. (Doctor of the Church), 255, 256
Augustinian nuns, 510
Austria, House of. *See* Habsburg
Aventin (Thurmayr), John (historical writer), 520

Bader, Augustine (furrier, Anabaptist), 159
Barnim XI. (Duke of Pomerania), 490, 511, 526
Barthold, Frederic William (historian), 6, 29 (*n.* 1)
Baumgartner, Jerome (ambassador), 269, 346 (*n.* 2)
Bedrot (preacher), 145
Bengle (the bandit), 348
Berbissdorf, Wolfgang v., 191 (*n.* 1)
Berthold V. (Duke of Zähringen), 137 (*n.* 12 in App.)
Besserer, Bernhard (burgomaster), 205
Beuckelszoon. *See* Jan van Leiden
Bezold, Frederic von (historian), 531 (*n.* 1)
Blarer, Ambrosius (preacher), 146, 231 (*n.* 3), 336 ff., 340, 342 ff., 421
Blumenthal, George von (Bishop of Lebus), 184
Boesenrade (stattholder), 115 (*n.* 2)

Boleyn, Ann, 345
Bora, Catharine von, 280, 306 (*n.* 1)
Bourbon, Charles de (constable), 9, 190
Braun, Conrad (assessor), 154, 282 (*n.* 2)
Brenz, John (theologian), 164, 232, 246, 252 (*n.* 18 in App.); 262, 267, 269, 281, 301, 326, 527 (*n.* 1)
Briarde, Lambert de (ambassador), 415 (*n.* 1, his letter in Lanz, *Staatspapiere*, p. 107)
Brismann, John (former Franciscan), 222 (*n.* 1)
Brothers of the Sword (*Schwert-Brüder*), 106 (*n.* 9 in App.)
Brück, Gregory (Pontanus, actually Heintze, Chancellor), 97 (*n.* 1), 251, 261, 269, 281, 295, 333 (*n.* 2), 543
Bryan, Francis (ambassador), 320 (*n.* 1)
Bucer, Mart. (theologian), 143, 145, 173, 228 (*n.* 2), 231 (*n.* 3), 247, 260, 272, 290 f., 292 (*n.* 1), 301, 336 f., 342, 355, 410 (*n.* 1), 422, 449 f., 497, 502 f., 535 ff., 540
Bugenhagen, John (Pomeranian theologian), 120 ff., 164, 494 (*n.* 1), 497, 513, 524 (*n.* 3), 533
Bullinger, Henry (theologian), 136 (*n.* 1)
Burgio, John Ant., Baron v. (Nuncio), 14 (*n.* 1)
Burgundy (House of). *See* Habsburg
Bussière, Theod., Vicomte de (author), 144 (*n.* 1)

Cajetan (Thomas de Vio, Cardinal), 193 (*n.* 1)
Camerarius (Joachim) (chamberlain; humanist), 176 (*n.* 4), 204 (*n.* 2), 225 (*n.* 1), 252 (*n.* 18 in App.), 265, 416 (*n.* 3), 528 (*n.* 2)
Campeggio, Lor. (nuncio, cardinal), 14 (*n.* 1), 111, 189 (*n.* 1), 251, 256, 300, 304 (*n.* 1), 530
Capefigue, Bapt. Honoré Raymond (author), 523 (*n.* 2)
Capito (Köpfel), Wolfgang Fabricius (theologian), 72 (*n.* 3), 140, 143, 145, 171, 173 (*n.* 3), 230, 247, 301, 338 (*n.* 1), 349 (*n.* 2), 355, 404, 449, 541
Carlstadt (Bodenstein), Andr. Rud. (theologian), 542
Casale, G. da, 516 (*n.* 3)
Casel, Gregory, 230 (*n.* 1)
Casim Begh (general), 378, 390
Casimir (Margrave of Brandenburg-Culmbach), 35–41, 75 ff., 283
Catherine of Aragon (Queen of England), 345
Cavalli Marino (Venetian ambassador), 523
Cellarius, Mich. (preacher), 147
Chaireddin, surnamed Barbarossa (corsair chieftain), 429, 438
Charles the Great (Emperor), 132, 335
Charles V. (Emperor), 2, 3 ff., 7–22, 25 f., 39, 43 f., 46, 50–56, 59–61, 64–66, 71–73, 75, 77 f., 87, 112 f., 133, 146, 162, 166, 172, 176 f., 181, 183, 186, 187, 189, 192–199, 202, 204, 207, 209, 213 f., 218, 221, 227 f., 234 f., 238–244, 246–252, 256–262, 272 ff., 281 ff., 287 ff., 293–297, 301–305, 308–315, 318–330, 332 f., 345, 347–354, 359 f., 365, 367, 370 f., 373–375, 377–434, 435–447, 473 f., 485, 487, 490 f., 493, 495 f., 497 ff., 503, 512, 514, 516, 519, 520 ff., 522, 526, 532, 539 f.
Charles (Duke of Angoulême, afterwards Duke of Orleans, third son of Francis I.), 441, 443 f.
Charles de Bourbon. *See* Bourbon
Charles the Bold (Duke of Burgundy), 6
Charles (Duke of Guelders), 478, 479
Charles III. (Duke of Savoy), 223, 246
Charles Egmont (Duke of Guelders), 6, 245, 372, 436, 479
Charrière, C. (historian), 12 (*n.* 13)
Christian II. (King of Denmark), 484
Christian III. (Duke of Holstein, King of Denmark), 411, 476, 484 f., 494
Christina of Saxony (Landgravine of Hesse), 86

Christopher I. (Margrave of Baden), 66
Christopher of Brunswick (Archbishop of Bremen and Bishop of Verden), 55
Christopher (Prince, later Duke of Würtemberg), 322, 375, 399, 403, 406, 412, 446
Cistercian nuns, 121
Clement VII. (Pope), 3, 6, 7, 10 (*n.* 1 in App.), 21, 24, 26, 44, 53, 59, 65, 73, 112, 187, 188–197, 203, 209, 235, 238, 240, 256, 274, 279, 295, 297, 299 f., 302, 318 f., 323, 331 f., 335, 360, 371, 383, 387 f., 390 f., 408, 415 (*n.* 1), 435, 440
Cles, Bernhard von (Bishop of Trent, later also of Brixen, and Cardinal), 43
Cochläus (Dobeneck), John (Canon), 186 (*n.* 15 in App.)
Collin, Rud. (Professor), 242
Contarini, Casp. (Cardinal), 5, 527 (*n.* 1)
Cousin, Gilbert, 516 (*n.* 3)
Cromwell, Thomas (Secretary of State), 523 (*n.* 3)
Crotus (Rubianus), John (Huntsman of Dornheim, humanist), 281 (*n.* 2)
Cruciger, Casp. (Creutziger), the Elder (theologian), 164, 280 (*n.* 4)

Dahlen, Lambert von, 473
Denk, John (Anabaptist), 158
Dietenberger, John (theologian), 258
Dietrich, Veit (Luther's amanuensis, preacher), 280 (*n.* 4), 535
Distel, Jörg (preacher), 425
Divara (Queen of the Anabaptists), 465
Dolzig, John von (marshal), 421
Dominican monks, 338
Dominican nuns, 142, 143
Doria, Andrew (Prince of Melfi, admiral), 196, 391
Doria, Filippino, 196
Dorothea of Denmark (Duchess of Prussia), 116 ff.
Dorothea of Denmark (Countess Palatine), 485
Droysen, J. Gustavus (historian), 252 (*n.* 16 in App.)
Du Bellay-Langey, Guillaume (ambassador), 347, 405, 522 (*n.* 2)
Dusentschur (goldsmith and Anabaptist), 464

Eck, John (theologian), 258, 262, 263 (*n.* 1)
Eck, Leonard von (Chancellor), 21–23, 225, 367 f., 371–374, 405, 411, 422, 431 f., 434, 519
Egelhaaf, Gottlob (historian), 150 (*n.* 1)
Egli, Emil (writer of church history), 156 (*n.* 1), 157 (*n.* 1)
Ehses, Stephan (historian), 8
Eleanor of Spain (widowed Queen of Portugal; later Queen of France), 6, 9, 441
Enno II. (Count of East Friesland), 104
Erasmus of Rotterdam, 468, 505
Erbe, Fritz (Anabaptist), 163 (*n.* 13, App.)
Eric of Brunswick (Prince-Bishop of Paderborn and Osnabrück), 453
Eric the Elder (Duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel), 48, 54
Erikson, Gottschalk (ambassador), 400 (*n.* 2)
Ernest (Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg), 34, 55, 57, 104, 210, 252, 294, 333, 345, 349, 474 f., 494
Estampes, Anna de Pisseleu, Duchess of, 523
Este, Alfonzo I. von (Duke of Ferrara), 8, 512 (*n.* 1)
Eyb, Gabriel von (Bishop of Eichstätt), 56, 276

Faber, John (von Leutkirch, Bishop of Vienna), 258, 278, 527 (*n.* 1)
Fabricius (preacher), 457
Farel, William (preacher), 70 (*n.* 1), 137, 145, 173
Farnese, Alexander. *See* Paul III.
Feige, John (Chancellor), 353
Ferber, Nic. (von Herhorn), 85
Ferdinand I. (Archduke, King of the Romans, King of Hungary and Bohemia, later Emperor),

2, 4, 8, 13, 15–23, 41, 43, 53–56, 59, 73 (*n.* 2), 74 f., 146, 161 f., 168–175, 177, 185, 189, 201, 507, 515, 519
Ferrara. *See* Este
Ferrarius, John (jurist and university Vice-Chancellor), 81 (*n.* 1)
Flassan, Gaétan de Raxis de (diplomat and historical writer), 5 (*n.* 2)
Florebellus, Ant., 11
Forest, Sieur de la (ambassador), 436 (*n.* 3)
Francis I., King of France, 2–7, 9 f., 12, 17, 19, 24–26, 133, 167, 172, 178, 183, 186, 189, 193, 195, 204 ff., 208, 225, 234, 243 f., 247, 259, 319, 323 (*n.* 1), 327, 329, 345–348, 354, 369 (*n.* 2), 372, 374–377, 383, 387 f., 400–404, 408–412, 415 (*n.* 1), 419, 429–448, 470, 475, 515, 521–524, 526
Francis (Dauphin, eldest son of Francis I.), 6, 9, 189, 195, 244, 418
Francis (Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg), 34, 57, 210, 252, 494, 526
Francis I. of Brunswick-Lüneburg (Bishop of Minden), 55, 334
Franciscans, the, 81, 85, 195, 338
Franciscus (Abbot of St. Gall). *See* Geisberg
Franck, Seb., 154, 535 (*n.* 1)
Frangipani, Christopher (Count), 13
Frank, Jörg (weaver), 433
Frederic II. (Emperor), 113
Frederic I. (King of Denmark), 116, 171, 175, 245 f., 350, 365 (*n.* 1), 372, 375, 396, 474
Frederic II. (Count Palatine, later Elector), 24, 39, 294, 375, 447 (*n.* 2), 485
Frederic (Margrave of Brandenburg), 283
Frederic III. (the 'Wise,' Elector of Saxony), 29, 90, 186 (*n.* 15 in App.)
Frederic II. (Duke of Liegnitz, Brieg, and Wohlan), 105, 107, 112, 494
Freiberg (chronicler), 114 (*n.* 2)
Friedensburg, Walter (historian), 75 (*n.* 6 in App.)
Froment (preacher), 137
Frundsberg, Casp. von, 445
Frundsberg, George von (Commander-in-Chief), 1, 2
Fuchstein, Ritter John von (councillor), 348, 416
Fürstenberg, Phil. (delegate), 201, 203, 379, 381, 386
Fürstenberg, William von (Count, military commander), 372, 411, 414 ff., 436, 447
Funk, John (court preacher), 115, 118 (*n.* 1)

Gabriel (Bishop of Eichstätt). *See* Eyb
Gall, St., 132, 141
Gambara, Uberto di (Apostolic Nuncio), written to by Acciagiroli 10 (*n.* 1)
Gattinara Mercurin (Chancellor of State), 8
Geisberg, Francis (Abbot of St. Gall), 141 f.
Geismayr, Mich. (demagogue), 242
George (the Bearded, Duke of Saxony), 44, 45 (*n.* 1), 48–51, 53, 67 f., 77 (*n.* 4). In a pamphlet on secret and stolen letters against George of Saxony, '*Collected Works*, 14–15, 31); 118, 169, 173, 176, 179, 182, 184 (*n.* 1), 186 (*see* also *n.* 17 in App.), 206, 277, 288, 304, 307, 376, 410 (*n.* 1), 412 f., 420 (*n.* 1), 487, 515 (*n.* 2)
George (Margrave of Brandenburg-Culmbach), 34, 38 f., 76, 112, 230, 244, 252, 269, 282, 283 (*n.* 1), 345, 494
George (Bishop of Spires), 56
George of Anhalt. *See* John George
Gerbellius, 349
German, Kil. (Abbot of St. Gall), 223
Giberti, Giov. Matteo (confidential agent of Clement VII., later Bishop of Verona), 7 (*n.* 3), 10
Giustiniani, Marino (ambassador), 437, 521 (*n.* 1)
Gonzaga, Frederic II. (Duke of Mantua), 512 (*n.* 1), 529
Granvell, Nicolas Perrenot von

(Imperial Chancellor), 383 (*n.* 2), 440 (*n.* 1)
Greiffendau. *See* Richard v. G.
Gresbeck, 460
Grey Sisters, 148
Gritti, Andrea (Doge of Venice), 243
Gritti, Louis (governor), 367, 369 (*n.* 2), 390
Gronsfield, Count (ambassador), 376 (*n.* 2)
Grotsch, Jac., 168
Gruber, Caspar (agent), 20
Guicciardini, Franc. (historian), 102 (*n.* 7 in App.)
Gundelsheim, Phil. von (Bishop of Basle), 138
Gustavus I., Vasa (King of Sweden), 481, 484

Habsburg, House of, 17, 25, 205, 347, 359, 365, 375, 404, 407
Hannart, 442 (*n.* 1)
Hans (Margrave of Brandenburg-Cüstrin), 494
Hanseatic League, 484
Harrach (Chancellor), 18
Hass, John (burgomaster), 390
Hausmann, Nic. (preacher), 87, 260 (*n.* 2)
Hedio, Casp. (preacher), 232
Heideck, Frederic von (knight), 114
Held, Matthias (Imperial Vice-Chancellor), 494–501, 509 ff., 526 ff.
Henkel von Commerstadt (court preacher), 262
Henneberg (Count), 494
Henneberg, William von (Count), 36
Henry VIII. (King of England), 4, 7, 9, 17, 320 (*n.* 1), 333, 345–347, 372, 375, 397, 406 (*n.* 1), 409 f., 436, 470, 475, 522 (*n.* 1), 524
Henry II. (Duke of Orleans), 6, 9, 189, 195, 235, 244, 418, 439, 442
Henry of the Palatinate (Bishop of Worms), 56
Henry the Younger (Duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel), 48, 54 f., 81, 121, 216, 245, 311, 326, 347, 484 (*n.* 1)
Henry (Duke of Mecklenburg), 34, 42, 55, 58, 104, 245, 494
Henry (Count of Nassau), 438 (*n.* 1), 445
Herberger, Th., 191 (*n.* 1)
Herborn. *See* Ferber
Hermann V. (Count von Wied, Archbishop of Cologne), 24, 53, 55, 173, 305, 453, 470
Hess, John, 154 (*n.* 1)
Hessus, Eobanus (humanist), 81, 168, 191, 416, 494
Hetzer, Louis (Anabaptist), 158
Heydeck. *See* Heideck
Heynes, Simon (ambassador), 524 (*n.* 2)
Hieronymus, Saint (Jerome), Doctor of the Church, 256 (*n.* 1)
Hildegarde (abbess, daughter of Louis the German), 132
Hoffmeister, John (Augustinian Prior), 95, 289
Hofmann, Melchior (Anabaptist), 450, 458, 468
Hohenlohe, Sigm. (Count), 171
Hollinger, Hans (Anabaptist), 156
Honstein, William III. (Bishop of Strasburg), 51, 56, 65
Hosius, Stanislaus (Cardinal), 516 (*n.* 2)
Hubmaier, Balthasar (Anabaptist), 162
Hus, Hussite (Bohemians), 330
Hut, Hans (Anabaptist), 158, 159

Ibach (Pastor), 82 (*n.* 2)
Ibrahim Pasha (Grand Vizier), 13, 211, 236, 366, 378
Isenmann, 266 (*n.* 5)

James V. (King of Scotland), 436
Jan van Geel (Anabaptist), 480
Jan van Leiden, 458, 462–468, 479
Janssen, John (historian), 75 (*n.* 6 in App.), 130 (*n.* by Pastor)
Jarcke, Charles Ernest, 183 (*n.* 14, App.)
Jews, 160, 163, 491
Joachim I. (Nestor, Margrave and Elector of Brandenburg), 2, 19, 24, 48, 53 ff., 169, 176, 181, 185,

206, 248, 272, 296, 304, 309 ff., 388
Joachim II. (Electoral Prince, later Elector of Brandenburg), 19, 447 (*n.* 2)
Joachim (Prince of Anhalt-Dessau), 490
Jörg von Passau, 159
John (the 'Steadfast,' Elector of Saxony), 19, 24, 84, 88 f., 42, 49 f., 57, 71 ff., 76, 86-95, 163, 169 f., 172, 176 ff., 181, 183 f., 204, 209 f., 219 f., 228, 230 f., 239 ff., 250 ff., 255, 259, 269, 273, 284, 286, 295, 305, 309 f., 322-325, 329, 333 f., 345, 348, 350, 352, 354, 364 f., 370 f., 373 f., 380, 382, 384 f., 389, 396 f., 453, 476
John of Brandenburg. *See* Hans
John III. (the Peaceable), Duke of Jülich-Cleves-Berg), 53, 55, 811
John Frederic, 19, 42, 58 (*n.* 1), 92, 204, 230 f., 252, 259, 281, 294, 323, 333, 397, 400, 409, 418, 421, 433, 453, 487, 494, 512 f., 521, 526, 530 ff., 537, 540 f.
John George (Prince of Anhalt-Dessau), 490
John Louis (Count of Nassau-Saarbrück), 494
Jonas, Justus (theologian), 100 f., 231, 249 (*n.* 2, his report in Kolde), 264 (*n.* 1), 306 (*n.* 2), 494, 497, 509, 513, 528 (*n.* 2), 533
Judä, Leo (preacher), 131
Jung, John, 146

Katzianer von Katzenstein, John (military general), 446
Kawerau, Gust. (theologian), 75 (*n.* 6 in App.)
Kerssenbroick (chronicler), 457
Kilian (Abbot of St. Gall). *See* German
Kippenbroick (Anabaptist), 455, 459
Kirchmair, George (chronicler), 161
Kluckhohn, Aug. (historian), 75 (*n.* 6 in App.)
Knipperdolling, Bernt. (cloth dealer, Anabaptist), 454 f., 459, 463, 483
Krebs, Dr. (ambassador), 376 (*n.* 2)
Krechting (Anabaptist), 483
Kresdorfer, Mich. (ambassador), 368
Küssenberg (chronicler), 358 (*n.* 1)
Kurss, Bonav., 24 (*n.* 3), 372

Lachmann (preacher), 122
Lambert, Francis (renegade Minorite), 79, 86
Landenberg, Hugo von (Bishop of Constance), 56, 129, 207, 223
Lang, Matthew (Cardinal Archbishop of Salzburg), 56, 169 ff.
Lannoy (Vice-regent of Naples), 8, 21, 190, 192-194
Lasky, Hieronymus (Palatine of Zierads), 174, 211, 234, 237, 369 (*n.* 3), 374
Lautrec, Odet de Foix, Vicomte de (Marshal), 195
Lazarus (Jewish agent), 237
Leib, Kilian (Prior of Rebdorf), 125 (*n.* 2), 276
Lenning, John (Hulderich Neobulus, preacher), 457
Leo III. (Pope), 335
Limberger (preacher), 491
Link, Wenzel, 72 (*n.* 1), 168 (*n.* 4), 186 (*n.* 17 in App.), 329
Loaysa, Garcia de (Imperial Father Confessor, Bishop of Osima), 319 (*n.* 2), 360, 388 (*n.* 1)
Lochmair, Casp. (ambassador), 434 (*n.* 1, his letter in Muffat, p. 483)
Löschenbrand, Christian (chronicler), 339
Logschau, Herr von, 18 (*n.* 1)
Louis the German, 132
Louis XI. (King of France), 6
Louis II. (King of Hungary and Bohemia), 13 ff., 17 f., 106 (*n.* 9 in App.)
Louis V. (Elector of the Palatinate), 2, 23, 38, 53, 57 f., 66, 73 (*n.* 2), 173, 178, 182, 202, 204, 305, 352, 382, 405, 413
Louis of Pfalz-Zweibrücken (Count Palatine), 245
Louis (Duke of Bavaria), 18-20, 26, 53, 169, 237, 305, 310, 365, 367 371, 374-377, 394, 398-403, 406, 410, 429-435, 438, 442

Louisa of Savoy (Duchess of Angoulême, mother of Francis I.), 18, 167
Lüthi (Protestant), 226 (*n.* 1)
Lund (Archbishop of). *See* Weeze
Luther, Catharine. *See* Bora
Luther, Hans (father of Martin), 284
Luther, Martin 19 (*n.* 3 in App.), 24, 26, 27–33, 38, 45, 47–56, 70, 72 (*n.* 1), 76, 86–90, 93–97, 101–107, 110, 115, 126 f., 129, 140 (*n.* 13 in App.), 143 (*n.* 3), 148, 150 f., 162–165, 168 (*n.* 4), 170, 177, 185 (*n.* 2), 186, 188, 190, 200, 204, 214, 221 f., 228–233, 241 f., 247, 252–256, 259 (*n.* 2), 260, 263–272, 279 f., 283 (*n.* 1), 284–288, 293, 296–300, 306 (*n.* 1, 2, 3), 326, 329–334, 336, 345, 352, 364, 378, 384 f., 410 (*n.* 1), 416, 420 (*n.* 1), 422, 424, 450, 453, 467 f., 484–487, 494, 513 f., 521 f., 525, 530–544

Mang, Felix (Anabaptist), 157
Mansfeld (Counts of), 333, 494
Mansfeld, Albert (Count of), 58, 204, 280 (*n.* 2), 294
Mansfeld, Gebhard (Count of), 333
Margaret of Austria (Governess of the Netherlands), 5, 8 (*n.* 1)
Maria of Burgundy (wife of Maximilian I.), 6
Maria of Burgundy (Queen of Hungary, Governess of the Netherlands, sister of Charles V)., 262, 378 (*n.* 2), 391, 446
Mark, Robert II., de la (Marshal de Bouillon, Prince of Sedan), 6
Marot, Clem. (court poet), 523 (*n.* 2)
Mary of England, 4
Mathys, Jan (baker and Anabaptist), 458 ff., 462, 468
Maurenbrecher, William (historian), 31 (*n.* 1)
Maximilian I. (Emperor), 106 (*n.* 9 in App.)
Mechtildis of Hesse (Countess of Tecklenburg), 453
Medici, the, 238
Medici, Hippolytus de, 390
Meigret, Lamb. (General), 243, 329
Melanchthon, Philip, 30, 38, 80 (*n.* 3), 82, 90, 93 ff., 96 (*n.* 2), 100, 106, 164, 169 (*n.* 1), 173 (*n.* 1, 4), 176 (*n.* 5), 177, 184 (*n.* 2), 186 (*n.* 17, App.), 192, 204, 210, 212 (*n.* 2), 219 f., 225 (*n.* 1), 228, 230–233, 246, 252, 254 f., 259 (*n.* 2), 260, 262, 265 ff., 269, 271 f., 283, 290 (*n.* 2), 296
Melander, Dion (preacher), 122, 492, 494
Melchior ('the Prophet'). *See* Hofmann
Mendicant Friars, 53, 62, 120
Metzsch, Levin, 165 (*n.* 1)
Meyer, Marcus (military captain, Anabaptist), 474, 476
Meyer, Nic. (councillor), 372
Milichius, James (Professor of Medicine), 509 (*n.* 1)
Minckwitz, Nickel von (Herr von Sonnenwalde), 176 (*n.* 4), 184 f., 368, 369
Mirandola, John Thomas, Pic. von (Papal Legate), 203
Mohammed, 12
Molitor, Nic. (Sacristan), 139 (*n.* 1, his name given as author of *Tagebuch*, &c.)
Moncada, Ugo de (ambassador), 10
Mont (ambassador), 406 (*n.* 1), 522 (*n.* 1)
Montmorency, Anne de (Constable), 436 (*n.* 2), 445
Morone, Girolamo (Chancellor), 8
Morone, John (Bishop of Modena, Legate), 196
Müller, Hans (Anabaptist), 155
Münzer, Thomas, 357
Muley Hassan (Bey of Tunis), 441
Murner, Thomas (Franciscan monk), 133
Musculus, Wolfgang (preacher), 537
Mustapha, 234
Myconius, Frederic (court preacher), 86, 100, 232, 297 (*n.* 1), 361, 534
Myconius, Oswald (theologian), 361, 425

Nausea, Friedrich (Pastor, later Bishop of Vienna), 123

Naves, John of (Vice-Chancellor), 437 (*n.* 4)
Neuenar, William of (Count), 350
Neverus (preacher), 121
Norfolk, Thomas Howard (3rd Duke of, Lord High Treasurer and Keeper of the Great Seal), 376 (*n.* 2)
Northorn, Claus, 482

Oecolampadius (Hussgen), John (preacher), 138, 140, 231, 337, 340, 540
Oldendorp, Dr. (syndic), 475, 477
Orleans (Duke of). *See* Henry *and* Charles
Osiander, Andr. (theologian), 106, 232
Otto the Elder (Duke of Brunswick), 34, 219
Otto Henry of Pfalz-Neuburg (Count Palatine, later Elector), 375

Pack, Otto (Doctor), 169, 175, 182
Paul III. (Pope, Alexander Farnese), 517–519, 522, 525–528, 531
Paul, Saint (Apostle), 128
Paulus, Nic. (historian), 145 (*n.* 2), 290 (*n.* 2), 291 (*n.* 1), 292 (*n.* 1)
Perneder, Andr. (secretary), 161
Perrenot. *See* Granvell
Pescara, Fern. Franc. d'Avalos, Marquis of (general), 9
Pfarrer, Mathis, 209
Philip II. (Infant, later King of Spain), 323 (*n.* 1)
Philip (Duke of Brunswick-Grubenhagen), 57, 334, 494
Philip I. (Duke of Pomerania), 490, 494, 511, 526
Philip (Landgrave of Hesse), 24, 34, 41 f., 45 (*n.* 1), 49 f., 53, 57, 66, 71 ff., 79–86, 95, 128, 163–173, 176–185, 204 ff., 208, 215, 219 ff., 225, 227–233, 241 ff, 246 ff., 252, 259 ff., 266 (*n.* 2), 269–272, 293, 310, 325, 326 f., 329 f., 333 (*n.* 2), 334, 347–350, 352, 354, 365, 369 (*n.* 2), 371–376, 382, 384, 388, 396 f., 400–419, 421, 424, 429–434, 437, 452, 455 ff., 466 ff., 476, 484, 486, 488, 494, 519, 521, 526, 530, 536, 538, 544
Philip (Margrave of Baden), 202, 216
Philip of the Palatinate (Bishop of Freiberg and Administrator of Naumburg), 56, 65 f., 87
Picus. *See* Mirandola
Pimpinelli, Vinc. (Nuncio), 250
Pirkheimer, Wilibald (humanist), 124
Planck, Gottlieb Jac. (theologian), 187 (*n.* 17 in App.)
Pole, Reginald (Cardinal), 516 (*n.* 3)
Polentz, Georg von (Bishop of Samland), 107, 111, 113 ff.
Polheim, Sigm., Louis von, 23 (*n.* 1)
Posnitzer, Conr., 22 (*n.* 3)
Probst, J., 154 (*n.* 1), 241 (*n.* 2)

Queis, Erh. von (Bishop of Pomesania, 107 ff., 114
Quiñones, Francisco (General of the Franciscan Order), 195 (*n.* 1)

Rabe, George (burgomaster), 120
Rangone, Hugo (Bishop of Reggio, nuncio), 512
Ranke, Leop. von (historian), 75 (*n.* 6 in App.), 170 (*n.* 1), 334 (*n.* 1), 489 (*n.* 1)
Rau, Adolfus (councillor), 352, 353
Redwitz, Weigand von (Bishop of Bamberg, 37, 56, 168 f., 183, 208
Reinhard, Anna (widow), 130 (*n.* 1)
Reissner (secretary), 1
Reublin, William (Anabaptist), 158
Ricalcato (Papal private secretary), 520 (*n.* 1)
Richard von Greiffendau (Elector, Archbishop of Treves), 2, 24, 53, 173, 177, 182, 311
Riezler, Sigm. (historian), 520 (*n.* 1)
Riffel, Casp. (theologian), 525 (*n.* 1)
Rincon, Ant. (ambassador), 17
Rink, Melch. (Anabaptist), 153
Rosen, Leonh. von (burgomaster), 120
Rothmann, Bernt (chaplain, Anabaptist), 453 f., 457–461, 463–465, 468 f., 478
Ruprecht (Duke of Zweibrücken), 494

Ryn, Bechtold von (councillor), 72 (*n.* 2, Letters of the Frankfort delegate and B. von Rhyn)

Sadolet, Jacopo (Bishop of Carpentras, later Cardinal), 11, 516 (*n.* 3)
Sailer, Gereon (physician), 506 (in the *Lebensbeschreibung*, referred to at *n.* 1)
Salat (chronicler), 137 (*n.* 1)
Salm, Nic. (Count von), 236
Sam, Conrad (preacher), 147, 328, 337, 340
Sanchez (ambassador), 415 (*n.* 1)
Scepper, Corn. Duplicius de (statesman), 335
Schärtlin, Seb. von Burtenbach, 191, 196, 378, 391, 445, 505
Scheit, Clas (burgomaster), 123, 492
Schenk, R. (town preacher), 147
Schetus, Erasmus, 471
Schneid, John (preacher), 259
Schneider, Eugene (historian), 424 (*n.* 1)
Schnepf, Erhard (preacher), 262, 423
Schomburgk, W. (historian), 186 (*n.* 17, App.)
Schradin (preacher), 537
Schrautenbach. *See* Weitelshausen
Schumacher ('prophet'), 480
Schwarz, H. (historian), 183 (*n.* 14 in App.)
Schwarzburg, Günther von (Count), 494
Schwarzenberg, John von, 162
Schwenckfeld, Casp. von, 450
Schwichtenberg, Liborius, 491 (*n.* 2)
Schwihau, Henry von, 22
Sforza, Franc. II. (Duke of Milan), 8 ff., 195, 238, 439, 440, 512 (*n.* 1)
Sickingen, Francis of, 28, 176, 179, 183
Sigmund I. ('the Old,' or 'the Great,' King of Poland), 4, 16, 18, 19, 106 (*n.* 9 in App.), 110, 112, 116, 171, 175, 367, 398
Sleidan, John (historian), 489 (referred to in *n.* 1)
Solms, Count, 66
Solyman II. ('the Great,' or 'the Magnificent,' Sultan), 12–16, 26, 174, 211 ff., 234–238, 244, 366–370, 376–380, 390, 397, 402, 429, 431, 438, 445
Soriano, Ant. (Venetian ambassador), 515 (*n.* 2), 521
Spalatin (Burkhardt) George, (theologian and writer of history), 71, 73, 104 (*n.* 2), 185 (*n.* 2), 268 (*n.* 2), 293, 494, 542 (*n.* 1)
Spahn, Mart. (historian), 491 (referred to in *n.* 1)
Spengler, Lazarus (schoolman), 220 (*n.* 1), 246, 268
Stabber, Lawr. (ambassador), 180 (*n.* 2)
Stadion, Christopher von (Bishop of Augsburg), 56, 221, 502 f., 506
Stähelin, Rud. (writer of Church history), 130 (additional note by Pastor)
Stoy, Stephen (historian), 73 (*n.* 2)
Sturm (von Sturmeck), Jacob (statesman), 202, 204, 208, 210, 272
Syrlin, Jörg (sculptor), 337
Szalkan, Ladislaus (Archbishop of Gran), 15

Tecklenburg, Conr. von (Count), 452
Teutonic Order (Knights of), 72, 106–110, 112
Thüngen, Conr. III. von (Bishop of Würzburg), 37 ff., 56, 65, 75, 168, 169, 183, 208, 405
Tiepolo, Nicc. (ambassador), 308 (*n.* 1)
Tomory, Paul (Archbishop of Calocsa), 15
Truchsess, George, 65
Truchsess, Lorenz, 394
Truchsess von Waldburg, George, (Stattholder), 3, 168, 292
Tschackert, Paul (theologian and historian), 107 (*n.* 2)
Tscherte (master builder), 125
Twiste, Frederic von (nobleman), 454.

Ulrich, Saint (Bishop of Augsburg), 506
Ulrich (Duke of Würtemberg), 3, 6, 73 f., 165–169, 171, 178, 205, 225, 233, 242 f., 243 f., 310, 322, 326, 347 f., 354, 369, 372, 375, 398,

402 f., 409–416, 418–425, 432, 437, 447, 475 f., 490, 494, 521, 526

Vadian (von Watt), Joach. (burgomaster), 140, 232
Vain, Gervinus (ambassador), 347
Valangin (Dame de), 137 (*n.* 3)
Vehe, Hieronymus (chancellor), 292
Vély, Claude Dodieu de (Bishop of Rennes, French ambassador), 444 (*n.* 1)
Vergerius, Pet. Paul (Bishop of Capo d'Istria, Nuncio), 517–520, 524 (*n.* 3)
Veyre, Pierre dè (ambassador), 192
Virck, H. (historian), 252 (*n.* 18 in App.)
Vogt, C. (historian), 494 (*n.* 1)
Vorst, Pet. v. d. (Bishop of Acqui), 526.

Waiblingen, Rud. von (Master of the Bedchamber), 42
Waldeck, Francis of (Bishop of Münster, Minden, and Osnabrück), 454 f., 457, 462, 466, 470, 482 f.
Waldeck, Philip (Count of), 82
Wedewer, Herm. (writer of Church history), 258 (*n.* 1)
Weeze, John von (ambassador, former Archbishop of Lund), 420 (*n.* 1)
Weinmeister (agent), 403, 430, 434 (*n.* 1), 435, 438
Weissenfelder, Hans (ambassador), 19, 20, 237, 369 (*n.* 4)
Werner, Hans (agent), 422
Westerburg, Gerh. (demagogue), 470
Wieck, von d. (syndic), 456
Wied, Frederic II. von (Prince Bishop of Münster), 453
Wied, H. von. *See* Hermann
Wiedemann, E. (Lutheran chronicler), 283 (*n.* 1)
Wildenfels, Baron von (ambassador), 178
Wille, Jac. (historian), 489 (*n.* 1)
William (Bishop of Strasburg). *See* Honstein
William IV. (Duke of Bavaria), 18–26, 53, 161, 169, 225, 305, 365, 368–377, 384 (*n.* 1), 392, 394, 401 ff., 410, 418, 429–433, 438, 519
William (Count of Nassau), 350
Wimpina, C., 258, 262
Winckelmann, O. (historian), 325 (*n.* 1), 334 (*n.* 1), 489 (*n.* 1)
Winzerer, Casp. (agent), 398 (*n.* 1), 402
Wittelsbach (House of), 56
Wizel, George (theologian), 486
Wolff, H., 362 (*n.* 2)
Wolfgang (Prince of Anhalt), 34, 58, 210, 252, 333
Wolsey, Thomas (Cardinal, Archbishop of Canterbury), 7, 180 (*n.* 2), 189 (*n.* 1)
Wullenweber, Jürgen (Anabaptist, burgomaster), 473–477, 481, 484.

Zapolya, John (Count of Zips, Voyvode of Siebenbürgen, rival King of Hungary), 14–18, 22 f., 173, 185, 211, 234 f., 237 f., 365, 366–370, 374 f., 377 f., 387, 390 f., 397–399, 401–405, 408, 410, 415, 419, 429–435, 438
Zasius, Ulrich, 124
Zell (preacher), 449
Zeller (burgomaster), 146
Zezwitsch, Gerh. von C. A. G. (theologian), 80 (*n.* 2)
Zimmern (Herren von, chroniclers), 436 (*n.* 2, *Zimmerische Chronik*)
Ziska (von Trocnow), John (leader of the Hussites), 331
Zwingli, Ulrich, the Zwinglians, 72 (*n.* 3), 127–131, 135 f., 138–147, 150 ff., 151, 155 f., 166 ff., 171, 173 (*n.* 3), 180, 206, 215, 222, 225*–233, 241–247, 259, 271 f., 290, 300 ff., 327 ff., 335 f., 342 (*n.* 1), 347 (*n.* 2), 349 (*n.* 2), 354, 355–364, 384, 404, 418, 421, 449, 466 f.

END OF THE FIFTH VOLUME

Spottiswoode & Co. Ltd., Printers, New-street Square, London.

KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRÜBNER & CO.

Limited.

NOW COMPLETE.

THE BRITISH EMPIRE SERIES

A Study of the Life, Resources, and Future Prospects of the British Empire.

In Five Volumes. With 12 Maps. Large post 8vo. **6s.** per volume.

VOLUME I.

INDIA. Ceylon, Straits Settlements, British North Borneo, Hong Kong. With an Introduction by Sir RAYMOND WEST, LL.D., K.C.I.E., and 2 Maps. Large post 8vo. 6s.

VOLUME II.

BRITISH AFRICA. With an Introduction by J. SCOTT KELTIE, LL.D., and 4 Maps. (Second Edition, with Revised Maps.) Large post 8vo. 6s.

VOLUME III.

BRITISH AMERICA.

1. NORTH AMERICA and CANADA. With an Introduction by J. G. COLMER, C.M.G., and a Map.
2. WEST INDIES, CENTRAL AMERICA, and SOUTH AMERICA. With an Introduction by Sir AUGUSTUS ADDERLEY, K.C.M.G., and a Map. Large post 8vo. 6s.

VOLUME IV.

AUSTRALASIA AND POLYNESIA. With an Introduction by the Hon. JOHN A. COCKBURN, M.D., and 2 Maps. Large post 8vo. 6s.

VOLUME V.

GENERAL. With an Introduction by the Right Hon. LORD AVEBURY, and 2 Maps. Post 8vo. 6s.

'The volumes are of solid and permanent utility.'—GLOBE.

'These volumes are very valuable . . . They are adorned with excellent Maps, and supplied with Appendices which convey a great deal of useful information in a very small space.'—ACADEMY.

'As a concise and faithful description of the present condition of our American Colonies, this volume ("British America") may be recommended.—SCOTTISH GEOGRAPHICAL MAGAZINE.

'This Book ("British Africa") is of national importance. It will be of great practical value alike to business men and intending emigrants.'—BROAD ARROW.

'The combination of first-hand knowledge on the part of all the writers, and perfect independence in their point of view, is an excellent feature in the volumes, and we have no hesitation in commending the volumes to the attention of the public.'—MANCHESTER GUARDIAN.

THE ECONOMIC HISTORY OF BRITISH INDIA.

A Record of Agriculture and Land Settlements, Trade and Manufacturing Industries, Finance and Administration. From the Rise of the British Power in 1757 to the Accession of Queen Victoria, 1837.

By ROMESH. DUTT, C.I.E. Post 8vo. *7s. 6d.*

NEW AND CHEAPER EDITIONS. By A. GRIMBLE.

DEERSTALKING AND THE DEER FORESTS OF SCOTLAND.

With 26 Illustrations by Archibald Thorburn and others. Demy 4to. *21s.* net.

SHOOTING AND SALMON FISHING, AND HIGHLAND SPORT.

Illustrated by A. Thorburn. Demy 4to. *21s.* net.

THE SALMON RIVERS OF SCOTLAND.

Demy 4to. *21s.* net. *[Ready shortly.*

Mr. Grimble, so well known for his several pleasant and authoritative works, in an easy gossiping fashion, sets down many anecdotes and not a few adventures interesting to lovers of sport. They are full of incident and interest, and cannot fail to prove attractive to both the young and old sportsman.

The works are uniform in size and style with his earlier publications. They contain all the Illustrations by THORBURN and others issued in the first editions.

The Issue is strictly limited to 500 Sets.

BOOKS ON EGYPT AND CHALDÆA SERIES.

A HISTORY OF EGYPT

FROM THE END OF THE NEOLITHIC PERIOD TO THE DEATH OF CLEOPATRA VII., B.C. 30.

By Dr. E. A. WALLIS BUDGE, M.A. Litt.D.

In 8 vols. With a Map.

The volumes are illustrated by a series of reproductions made from a large number of predynastic and dynastic antiquities preserved in the British Museum, from Photographs of Egyptian temples and pyramids, and other monuments, and of Nile scenery, and from outline drawings and tracings.

THE LIVES OF THE POPES IN THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES.

By THE REV. HORACE K. MANN.

'De gente Anglorum, qui maxime familiares Apostolicae Sedis semper existunt'
(*Gesta Abb. Fontanel, A.D.* 747-752, ap. M.G. S.S. II. 289)

HEAD MASTER OF ST. CUTHBERT'S GRAMMAR SCHOOL, NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE.

VOL. I. (IN TWO PARTS)

'THE POPES UNDER THE LOMBARD RULE.'

ST. GREGORY I. THE GREAT TO LEO III., 590-795.

Price 12*s.* net each Part, or 24*s.* net complete.

Parts I. and II. now ready.

'Mr. Mann may be congratulated on a successful start of a great undertaking. If the other volumes are as good as this, he will confer no slight gift on historical students. . . . Our last word shall be one of thanks to Mr. Mann for a most scholarly and valuable instalment of a great task.'
THE LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW.

'The author seems to have made himself thoroughly master of the materials for his subject. His statements are constantly supported by quotations from the original authorities, and are set off by an easy and lucid gift of exposition.'—MANCHESTER GUARDIAN.

ANNALS OF THE SEYMOURS.

BEING A HISTORY OF THE SEYMOUR FAMILY FROM EARLY TIMES TO WITHIN A FEW YEARS OF THE PRESENT.

By H. ST. MAUR.

Profusely Illustrated. In 1 vol. Super Royal 8vo., price £2 10*s.* net.

LIFE OF RICHARD WAGNER.

Being an Authorised English Version by WM. ASHTON ELLIS of C. F. Glasenapp's 'Das Leben Richard Wagner's.'

It is intended to publish this work in four volumes of from 400 to 500 pages each. The first two volumes are now ready, and the third volume will be ready in the spring of next year. The price is 16*s.* net each volume.

'The first adequate biography of the great musician which has appeared in English. . . . The book, as judged by the first volume, is excellent. It is elaborately full, yet well-proportioned, systematic.'
ACADEMY.

'In nearly every way this life of Wagner is a model of what a biography of a great composer should be. Coupled to Herr Glasenapp's patient and microscopic survey of every fact and every document, however remotely bearing on the subject, we get the sympathetic insight, the true sense of proportion and the breadth of view, of Mr. Ashton Ellis. As a consequence we are presented with a complete picture of the man, and can follow the action and reaction of his environment and development in his character and in his works. . . . A work that can rightly claim rank among the great biographies of the world.'
DAILY CHRONICLE.

00031781

Digitized with financial assistance from
Shri Brihad Bhartiya Samaj
on 20 February, 2020